FREE DHORUBA BIN WAHAD!! (Page 10)

the SHADOW

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

NOW MONTHLY!!

50¢
AT BOOKSTORES
AND NEWSSTANDS

$1.00 OUT OF TOWN

JUNE 1992
ISSUE #24

KOPS GO TOO FAR!

"NOT GUILTY" VERDICT IN RODNEY KING BEATING TRIGGERS RIOTS ACROSS U.S!!

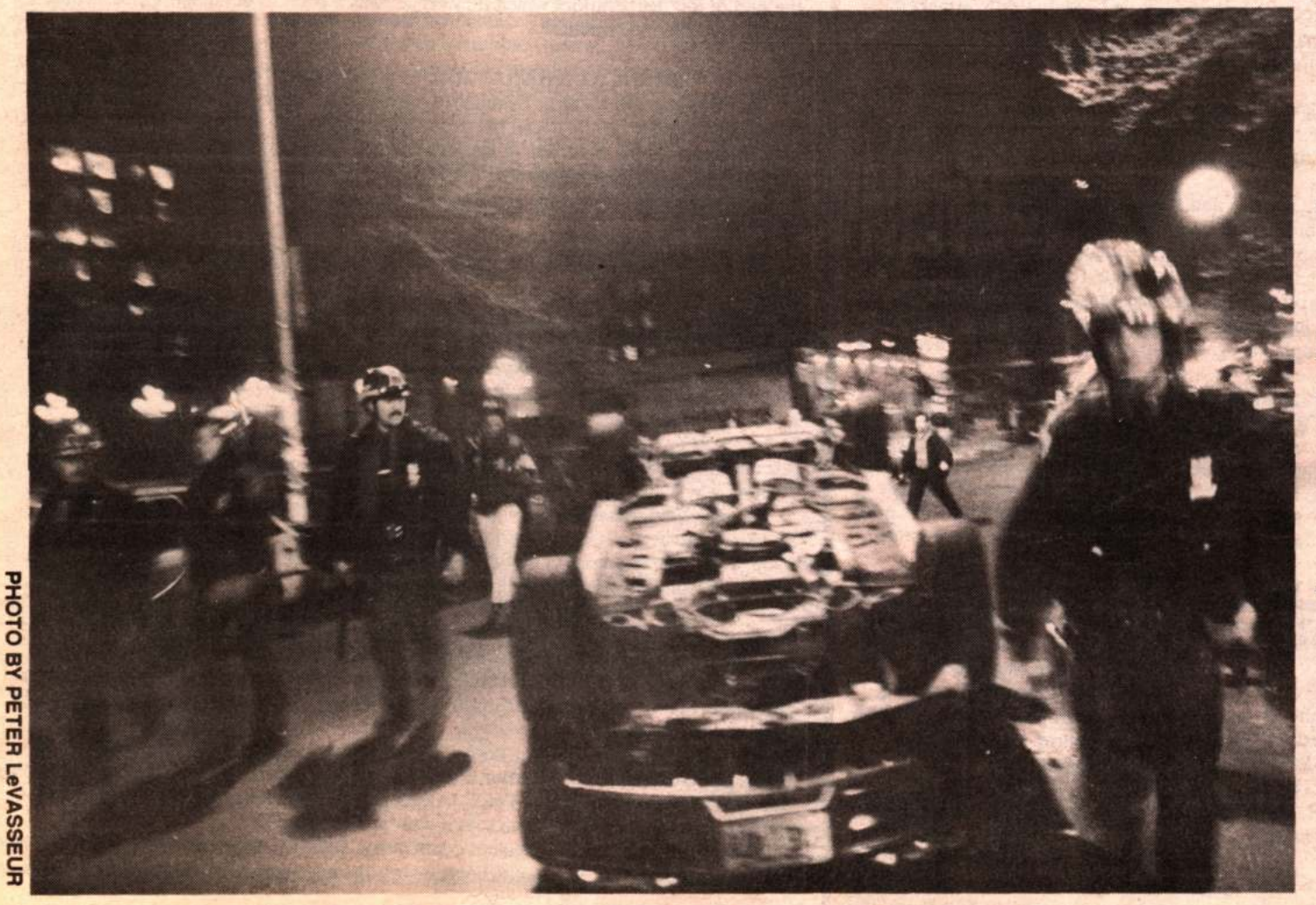


PHOTO BY PETER LeVASSEUR

RIOT COPS PASS OVERTURNED CAR ON BLEECKER STREET--MAY 1, 1992

ALSO INSIDE:

MAYDAY 92
RIOT COVERAGE

GRADY ALEXIS
MURDER UPDATE

TRUTH BEHIND
BOMBING OF
PAN AM 103

COPS RAID BLOCK
PARTY, STEAL
EQUIPMENT, FOOD

COPS BUST
PERFORMANCE
ARTISTS

SHADOW EDITORIAL

PIG BRUTALITY? WHAT A RIOT!!

So, what have we learned from the acquittals of the pigs "on trial" in Los Angeles in the beating of Rodney King? Were you surprised that the pigs got off, especially after the trial was relocated to an almost all-white suburb where many cops live and have families? Were you shocked and angry that they got off in spite of the graphic violent beating that was seen over and over again on televisions around the country?

The only problem with the outburst that resulted in L.A. was that the people misdirected their anger and rage. Instead of focusing on the right targets, those responsible for the conditions that led to the King beating and countless other beatings and murders by cops before and after the King beating, most of the L.A. rioters took it out on their own communities and each other.

Who is responsible for the conditions leading to pig violence, destabilization and ghettoization of sections of L.A. where the riots broke out? The government, local and state-wide, through its neglect, its diversion and misspending of funds designated for improving health and education; the banks and insurance companies, through their "red-lining" of certain neighborhoods, making it next to impossible for small property and business owners to obtain loans for making repairs and improvements; and, of course, the pigs themselves, who treat the people they claim to "protect and serve" like animals whose lives aren't worth shit, whose role it is to protect the investments and property of those in power.

This strategy has been successfully employed in cities all over the country, from the 1960s through the 70s. Landlords, unable to refinance or get loans on their buildings, either torched their buildings or let the city take them for non-payment of real estate taxes. This, combined with a steady flow of cheap death drugs (cocaine, heroin and crack), made neighborhoods which were once tight knit communities that became hot beds of organizing and popular uprising resemble London during WWII. Increased crime due to drug addiction has also benefitted the government by justifying more repressive legislation, the building of more jails, and the suspension of civil rights, all in the name of what has become the "Drug War", called by the very people bringing in the death drugs in the first place!!

The L.A. pigs cleverly pulled back when the shit hit the fan for a variety of reasons. Beside being afraid of getting their asses kicked or killed, they wanted to allow the people to loot and destroy their own neighborhoods and fight and kill each other. This served to further destabilize their already fragile communities, make everyone there look like rabid animals, and give the pigs and the Rodney King beating legitimacy and credibility. The pigs set the stage, then set the trap, and the people fell for it.

This also justified the deployment of combat ready U.S. military troops (fresh from fighting in Panama) for the first time. This was a very bad precedent in light of the fact that Bush's FEMA plans are already in place. This may have been done to test public reaction to such a blatant abuse of military force. Predictably, poll takers heard L.A. residents say they were glad to see the troops, and that they needed them there. Why wasn't the National Guard used? During the battle of People's Park in Berkeley in 1969, then governor Ronald Reagan had no problem sending the National Guard to gas and kill at will. After receiving no resistance or public outcry over the use of military troops, it will be even easier for Bush and company to implement their plans to suspend the constitution by declaring a "national emergency" for any reason. A reason they will be sure to create, as in L.A.

In whose benefit is it to allow and encourage people to remain divided and fight based on ethnic differences? It is in the government's interest to prevent people from joining forces against the power structure that is the root cause of all the suffering and injustice of all the people.

Other cities did not have this problem. They were not fooled by "news" of the phony "race war" being fanned by the slanted media coverage of the rioting. People of all backgrounds all over the U.S. got pissed off at the L.A. verdicts and they joined forces to voice their anger. In San Francisco, hundreds of people battled pigs in the streets. In Madison, Wisconsin, they broke into a pig warehouse and destroyed dozens of cop cars inside. Other skirmishes broke out in Atlanta, Las Vegas, and of course, in New York City.

In New York, rather than fight each other over something as irrelevant as their ethnicity, angry protestors got together and vented their rage collectively on the streets as helpless riot cops stood by. There were a few minor racial incidents caused by some people, but they were quickly stopped by others in the crowd. Unfortunately, though the crowd acted in unison rather than fight each other, most of their targets were unjustly attacked. Hitting restaurants, stores, and taxis owned by people that have to make a living was not the right thing to do. There were more appropriate targets for the New York crowd's anger.

Why attack those who are trying to make a living when the real enemy is the state and their agents of repression, the pigs? If the racist, sexist and violent behavior of these thugs wasn't condoned and encouraged by the pigs at the very top, then these bastards wouldn't dare pull their shit in any city!!

Will anything change as a result of the verdicts and subsequent riots? In the aftermath, only one cop is being retried, another wrote a book full of racial slurs about the beating, and the L.A. police department is now using the tape of the King beating as a training film to show cops what they can get away with the next time they beat someoneg!! In New York City, mayor Dickhead Dinkins is backing off from his campaign promise to replace the police and police-linked members of the ineffectual CCRB ("Civilian" Complaint Review Board--supposedly in place to review complaints against pig misconduct and take action against the offending pigs).

In Tompkins Square, cops have been taking the offensive, harrassing, beating and arresting people at random. Apparently, they want to "get even" for the May 1st riot here, which they blame on local activists who were just as overwhelmed by the huge crowd as the cops were. Using their typical illogic, the cops now feel that by getting tough, they will prevent any more demonstrations or riots here. Of course, as in L.A., all of this pig abuse here is being encouraged and orchestrated by the pigs at the top. Won't these assholes ever learn their fucking lesson? Probably not--since 1988, they've been playing the same game with the same angry and bitter results.

REMEMBER: NO PIGS=NO RIOT!!

FREE KENNY TOLIA!!

Lower East Side anarchist, squatter activist and May Day 29 defendant Kenny Tolia, sentenced April 6th to one year in jail for incitement to riot "in order to deter others" (see SHADOW #20+21), has been transferred back to New York City after spending the past month at Riverview Correctional Facility in remote Ogdensberg, NY, near the Canadian border, one of several jails that the city rents space from, due to overcrowding in city jails.

While there, Kenny taught English to other inmates. Some wondered why he received a maximum sentence for his first conviction. When the 1988 Tompkins Square Police Riot was mentioned on TV in connection with the Rodney King beating, they all knew what his case was about.

Kenny needs funds to help pay his appeal bond, pay bills on the outside, telephone calls, etc. Donations can be sent in care of the SHADOW and will be forwarded to Kenny's wife. Kenny's new mailing address is:KENNY TOLIA, #792-2401, MARITIME FACILITY 2, P.O.BOX 1019, PIER 36, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10002

WHO KILLED GRADY ALEXIS?

Anatomy of a Cover-Up

By Paul DeRienzo

"You know this is a nightmare, a nightmare. This case is going to be with me for a long time to come. I can see that and I would prefer that it could have been disposed of somehow." --New York State Justice Stephen G. Crane

Justice Crane made this statement on February 20, 1992, when he dismissed indictments against New York City Police Officer Richard Frazier and companion Terri Pressley. Both were charged in an assault on two men that left 26 year old Haitian born artist Grady Alexis dead. The misdemeanor assault charges against Officer Frazier and Pressley were rejected on the grounds that the 700 pages of Grand Jury minutes "failed to coherently explain" events on 8th Street and 5th Avenue where the killing occurred on May 4, 1991.

Manhattan Assistant District Attorney Jay Stein, in a motion to reargue the case filed on April 6th, admitted what many friends of Grady Alexis had suspected all along--that officer Frazier had in fact struck Alexis and contributed to his death.

Police reports made shortly after the incident maintained that Frazier's blue jeep with license plate "BOXER 5" nearly grazed Alexis and two companions, Julian Dodds and Benjamin Sneed. An argument resulted and Frazier got out of the jeep, while two cars following stopped. Terri Pressley got out of one of the following cars and, according to police reports, punched Alexis to his head, knocking him to the ground. The same reports say Frazier struck Dodds in the eye.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY CONFUSES GRAND JURY

According to the DA's motion, which provides a rare look into the workings of a Grand Jury, Justice Crane expressed the opinion that Assistant District Attorney Jay Stein had "not sufficiently linked" Frazier to the assault on Dodds. Although Officer Frazier was eventually indicted for the misdemeanor charge of third degree assault against Dodds, Justice Crane also criticized Stein for permitting the Grand Jury to consider the possibility that Frazier had struck Alexis without presenting evidence to back the charge up. Finally Crane accused Stein of confusing the Grand Jury by presenting the argument that Frazier and Pressley could have been acting in self-defense "before deliberating on the proof of the elements of the charges."

In response, Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau's office argued that "six eyewitnesses gave testimony which... proved that Frazier was the man who assaulted Dodds. In addition, Frazier himself made admission to the same effect." But of particular significance is the DA's argument that Frazier admitted to his friend John Green that he had "popped those two guys." Morgenthau's office argues that Frazier's comments are "an obvious reference to Dodds and Alexis." According to the DA's motion, three witnesses testified before the Grand Jury that Frazier did assault Alexis, including Frazier's friend John Green.

This statement, which contradicts the police reports, is the first public admission that a police officer may have contributed to Alexis' death. Friends of Alexis say they are disturbed that despite evidence that Frazier and Pressley both struck Alexis, no charges of "acting in concert" were brought against the two men. To "act in concert" is to share equal responsibility for the crime.

In dismissing the indictments, Justice Crane expressed surprise with the manner in which the DA presented the charges to the Grand Jury. Crane said, "I have never seen a charge to a Grand Jury on the defense, a defense yet of justification (self-defense) before the Grand Jurors are asked to consider the substantive crime to which the justification pertains. I don't know where this comes from." Crane goes on to state that such a presentation caused "the integrity of this Grand Jury to be undermined."

Morgenthau's office responded that "the procedure (presenting a self-defense justification before explaining the crime itself) is in fact recommended in the Grand Jury manual of the District Attorney's Office in some cases involving the possibly justified use of force." According to the DA, the Grand Jury advised the prosecutor that they had concluded that "some" of the defendants actions were justified and others not. The DA's office also argues that prosecutors repeated the self-defense argument to the Grand Jury at the end of the deliberations which they argue "was a boon to defendants, not a cause for dismissal of the indictments."

MEDICAL SHENANIGANS AND MISSING WITNESSES

According to the Medical Examiner's office, Grady Alexis died because he had an "abnormally thin skull." A friend of Alexis who has seen the autopsy report, says that Alexis had a fracture to the right side of his skull, another wound on the rear of head where he hit the pavement and an abrasion that the Medical Examiner argues was the result of Alexis being "dragged" on the ground (although no witnesses ever testified that Alexis was dragged.)

A witness to the assault, Victor Herrara, told the **Village Voice** that the "driver of the jeep (Frazier) hit the man with the dreds (Alexis)." Another witness, found by friends of Alexis pursuing their own investigation, said Alexis was struck by the driver of the jeep with "BOXER 5" plates. The witness says he also saw a man with a gun in one of the other cars that stopped with Frazier.

An M-13 bus driver, Thomas Horton, says his bus was blocked by two double-parked jeeps and he saw a man identified as Frazier move a jeep from the northside of the street to the southside to allow traffic to pass. Horton says he was never approached or interviewed by the police. A fact repeated by numerous witnesses contacted by friends of Alexis who spent months speaking with pedestrians at the corner of 8th Street and 5th Avenue where the assaults occurred.

Frazier, who was off duty, is a two time lightweight Golden Gloves boxing champion and holds a black belt in the martial art of Tae Kwon Do. In the aftermath of the Alexis killing, Frazier pulled out of an international boxing match where he was scheduled to fly to the Soviet Union and represent the NYPD.

Frazier, who works out of the 23rd precinct in East Harlem, was arrested the day after Grady Alexis was killed. He was suspended from the police department for 30 days and then reinstated on limited duty without a gun until the indictment was dismissed in February. The NYPD Internal Affairs Division is conducting a parallel investigation and IAD officers have expressed surprise that Frazier was not slapped with heavier charges than 3rd degree assault.

Pressley's attorney, Eugene Bogan, says his client coincidentally happened by the scene of the assault when he saw Frazier, Pressley's former basketball coach. According to Bogan, who was quoted in the **Village Voice**, "Alexis grabbed Mr. Pressley and Mr. Pressley, in warding him off, hit him." Bogan says it was "self-defense."

Pressley is no stranger to violent controversy. Since the death of Grady Alexis he has been hit twice more with assault charges. One charge is still pending and the other was dropped by the victim last December.

The next court appearance is scheduled before Justice Crane on June 3rd in Part 81 at 111 Center Street.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE RODNEY KING POLICE BEATING VERDICT-----

INSIDE THE 1992 MAYDAY RIOT

By A. Kronstadt

It's hard to believe how the riot on May 1st started. We had heard on 1010 WINS radio that there was going to be a demonstration on Friday afternoon protesting the "not guilty" verdict in the trial of the cops who beat Rodney King in Los Angeles. Cops were massing in Times Square and Garment District businesses were being asked by the city to close early because there was a threat of violence. They did not say what time the demo was going to take place or who had called it.

Earlier that day, there had been a spontaneous gathering and march of about 150 young people and students at the World Trade Center nervously followed by cops, though the marchers called for an end to violence. Later, some students marched to Foley Square where they held a press conference, then up Broadway, past Canal Street, where they were broken up by cops, who roughly shoved a girl in her face. This was about 3:00 PM.

Somebody at the RCP bookstore said that the Times Square demo was going to start at 4:30 and that it was called by the Workers' World Party. It sounded more like a threat of boredom than violence. The scene at Times Square a little after 5:00 was like that at a dozen or more Workers' World-controlled demos over the years which had taken place on that triangle behind the recruiting station. This time, Workers' World used the name "Movement for a People's Assembly."

There were a lot of people there already, probably a couple of thousand. That big platform and enormous Workers' World PA system were all there, as well as the dozens of identical signs in that characteristic calligraphy that Workers World Party always uses. Cops were trying to force people to enter the demo through a narrow gap in the back of the triangle of barricades. My companions and I ignored the cop who pursued us up the spine of Seventh Avenue telling us,"excuse me, excuse me, can't go in that way". Fuck him and his blood-soaked authority--we slipped in under the barricades. There wasn't much going on there--only speaker after speaker from every Workers' World front group. The crowd was very diverse, including the usual white lefty suspects as well as lots of black and Latino students and homeboys. The speakers were pretty boring, except for Bill Kunstler, who gave a speech on Rodney King and a criminal justice system with its roots more in slavery than the constitution. People's feet were getting tired. Every time a group of people would start an unofficial chant (some of us tried adding "Fuck the Police" to "No Justice, No Peace"), the organizers would aim the gigantic speakers at them and drown them out with Workers' World approved slogans. It was the usual bullshit. People in the crowd kept chanting "March, march", and the organizers promised three times over a half-hour that we would march in five minutes. There was a lot of anger in the group, and listening to all this hot air was not providing any catharsis. A few black students spoke who were not affiliated with Workers' World and they said the obvious--that the white racist legal system could not provide justice for Rodney King or any Black person, that such justice could only be won in the street. This issue seemed too big for any tinhorn communist group to contain in one of its little orchestrated demonstrations.

Finally, the promised march took place. We were told that the lead banner would be the one on the stage which said "Build A People's Assembly", and that we would be marching to the Port Authority Bus Terminal to shut it down. We marched west on 42nd Street picking up lots of people, particularly young people. At the Port Authority, the demo leaders marched us right into a funnel of cops, NYPD on one side and Port Authority pigs on the other. People were cursing and calling out the police but the cops were using the opportunity to split the crowd in two. As we followed the lead banner down a side street it became obvious to everyone except for the initiators of the demo that we were leaving half of our people back at the bus terminal. The People's Assembly banner continued its forward motion along 39th Street and the crowd followed until on Seventh Avenue some of the young people in the ranks started realizing that there was something wrong. The demo stopped, and people on bicycles brought back reports. Finally, somebody pointed down 38th Street toward a group of people on 8th Avenue. Everybody then rushed down 38th Street, leaving the People's Assembly banner far behind. The two crowds met: black, white, Latino and Asian New Yorkers high-fived each other and cheered, and it was a brand new demonstration. Bunches of people lined up against the metal store grates and rattled them in a scary cacophony. The window of some garment center establishment was smashed. The crowd rushed back up the street, brushing aside a thin line of cops and pounding on cop cars. The chants changed from "The People United Will Never Be Defeated" to "Fuck the Police" and "Fight the Power". We approached Madison Square Garden and Penn Station, both of which were guarded by cordons of Port Authority pigs. A few hundred people all of a sudden got the idea of rushing Madison Square Garden. Most of the cops were guarding Penn Station, and the flying wedge of demonstrators had no problems getting through the heat in front of the Garden. Into the atrium we all rushed, dumfounding the security guards

FLASH FOTO

in their little blazers and ties. Tables were upset and programs and brochures were scattered in the air as the four hundred or so invaders chanted "No Justice, No Peace". The metal door to one of the amphitheaters was forced open and people began pouring in, but immediately started pouring out convinced that the big air-conditioned room was a trap. Heading for the door, somebody threw a book or brochure into the tightly clenched face of Captain Gerald "Ex-Lax" Frey, one of the NYPD's top demonstration busters. Uniformed and undercover cops appeared from nowhere, only to be pelted with a variety of debris. The person whom the cops tried to arrest was unarrested, and everybody poured out of the Garden back into the body of the demonstration on Seventh Avenue. The demo continued down Seventh Avenue, its progress now punctuated by periodic trashing and clashes with the cops. Windows were broken, mostly in yuppie establishments but sometimes in ordinary businesses. Many windows would be broken that night which did not appear to deserve it.

The demonstration was now an earthquake of rage which was shaking everything in its path. At 14th Street, the cops acted in a concerted fashion to block the swarm of people from entering Greenwich Village. A massive shoving match ensued and the line of cops was pelted with bottles. The cops rushed to arrest the bottle throwers and a window of opportunity was created to cross the police line, which the spearhead of the crowd took advantage of. Once in the Village, the demonstration took on added fury.

At this point, it appeared that the crowd was composed of about one third each Black, Latino, and white people. I observed little dissention among various ethnic groups within the march. Somebody started making anti-semitic remarks at one point but was surrounded by critics and forced to explain himself. The same thing happened to a guy who was telling the crowd to attack a Japanese restaurant because it was Japanese. In fact, all kinds of businesses had their windows broken that night regardless of the ethnicity of their proprietors. Chain stores like the Gap and Tower Records caught bricks, as well as Kenny's Castaways (a Village bar), the Village Gate, both branches of the Dojo vegetarian restaurant, both branches of the BBQ southern food restaurant, a Ukrainian barber shop on Saint Marks Place, and a Korean florist. The only criterion appeared to be the presence of exposed glass. The May 1st riot was a multiracial tremor of rage brought on by racism, carried out by a diverse group of New Yorkers against random business establishments as well as against the cops, who were the main target.

On the corner of Seventh Avenue and West 11th Street, a cop motorcycle was kicked over and burned by the crowd. Other police scooters were knocked over in the sweep through the West Village and the windows of several cop cars were penetrated by chunks of concrete. Lines of police were repeatedly pelted with bottles and anything else which was handy, particularly when the cops were trying to arrest somebody or block the progress of the march.

Ever since the demonstration entered the West Village, some people had been shouting for a march to Tompkins Square Park. A group of Puerto Rican activists who had a piece of the large PA system which had come down from Times Square started exhorting the crowd, which was moving east somewhere near NYU at 7:45 PM to go on to Tompkins Square Park, a symbol of resistance to police brutality in New York. The group proceeded into the Lower East Side, overturning trash cans and smashing windows. The cops were sweating. This group was composed of two thousand people, five times the number of people who had participated in the largest of the local uprisings against the police state in that Lower East Side park, now closed and surrounded by a chain-link fence. Tompkins Square activists in the crowd swelled with excitement--perhaps this group would be strong

See MAYDAY RIOT On Page 15 (P.3)

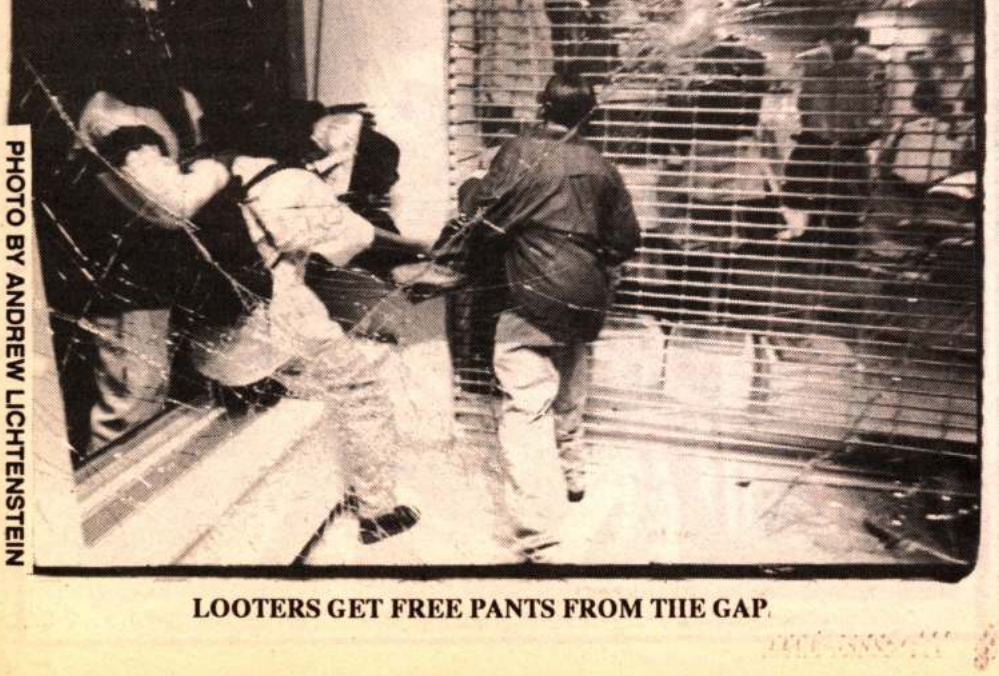


PHOTO BY ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN

LOOTERS GET FREE PANTS FROM THE GAP

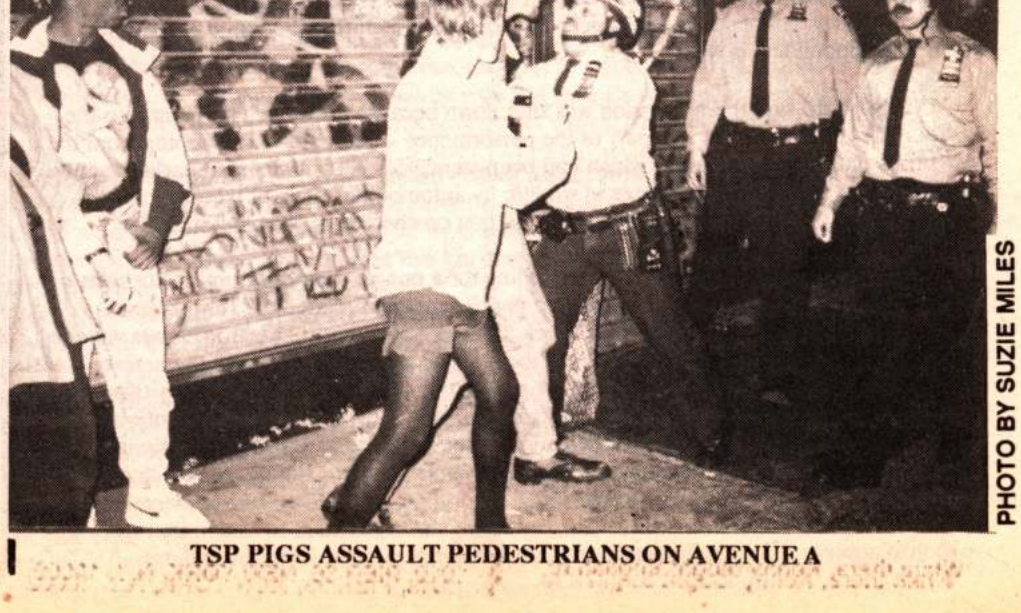


PHOTO BY SUZIE MILES

TSP PIGS ASSAULT PEDESTRIANS ON AVENUE A

TWO IN ONE DAY: POLICE ARREST BAND AT NEIGHBORHOOD PICNIC, SHUT DOWN ART PERFORMANCE ON LOWER EAST SIDE

By Bill Weinberg

PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

On the weekend after Los Angeles exploded into rebellion, New York City appeared to be on the edge of chaos. On Friday, May 1st, an angry protest marching south from Times Square turned into a riot, resulting in several smashed windows in the East Village. On the Lower East Side, where tensions have already resulted in the closing of Tompkins Square Park, the "not guilty" verdict in the police beating of Rodney King a continent away resonates strongly with some. And on Sunday, May 3rd, it became evident that the police were taking no chances.

Both of the events which drew police response that day had been scheduled long before the Los Angeles uprising, and both were completely nonviolent. The first was a picnic in La Plaza Cultural, the community-created park at the corner of 9th Street and Avenue C. Approximately 100 community residents turned out that morning to share food and listen to live music. At approximately noon, a live band started to play, plugging their amps into a nearby electrical outlet. Witnesses report that almost immediately police vehicles arrived on the scene and several cops with riot gear entered La Plaza and summarily arrested the three band members. The sound equipment was also confiscated.

The three were charged with "theft of services" -- namely, stealing Con Edison's juice for their amplifiers. But band member Caliph Beacon says, "we were plugged into the same outlet we've plugged into every time we've had a block party at La Plaza Cultural for the last 20 years."

Picnic organizer Myron Trie concurs. "I've participated in close to a dozen and a half cultural events in La Plaza with amplified sound. Ninth Precinct officers have been at these events and have never interfered."

But Ninth Precinct commanding officer Deputy Inspector Michael Esposito says that he would not have granted the event a sound permit, even if organizers had applied for one, because of the "history surrounding these events," a reference to the violence which has frequently followed concerts in Tompkins Square Park that has resulted from police actions in and around the park.

Normal Siegel of the NY Civil Liberties Union says, "That's not factually correct and that's not constitutional. If Inspector Esposito said that, he should check with NYPD legal counsel. The concept that music causes riots is kind of neanderthal. Those are the kinds of comments that increase tensions on the Lower East Side."

Later that day, the Theater for the New City, a local group of performance artists and actors, was holding an art performance, the final event in a week-long festival of artwork on ecological themes. This performance was given greater urgency by recent events -- the April 23 accident in Washington Square, in which a car ran amok, resulting in 5 deaths. The performance was an art protest of America's automobile culture. A costumed procession was slowly making its way east on 10th Street along with an old car. The destination was the vacant lot between 8th + 9th Streets and Avenues C + D, where the car was slated to be partially buried and planted with flowers, shrubs and an apple tree. However, the car never reached its destination.

The northeast corner of Tompkins Square, at 10th Street and Avenue A, was filled with a bigger police presence than had been seen in the neighborhood since the park was closed nearly a year ago. TNC director George Bartenieff says, "We were walking and singing, holding branches of Spring with flowers. It was the most joyous, peaceful parade -- and it was like we were walking into a militarized zone." As the procession entered the intersection of 10th and A, where the police had set up a temporary command post, several officers approached the marchers, immediately arrested six, and impounded the car.

"The cop said, 'Turn left and get out of here,'" says Bartenieff. "A superior cop said 'Take the car.' An officer got in and drove it away. There was no paperwork." Inside the car was $1,500 worth of sound equipment intended for use during the burial ceremony, which was impounded as well.

D.I. Esposito says the procession was shut down because it was spilling paint into the street. Bartenieff says this was part of the performance -- red paint was dripping from the car's tires onto animal figurines which had been stencilled on the pavement earlier in the day, symbolizing the daily slaughter of wildlife by automobiles. Five of the participants were arrested on "disorderly conduct" charges, one on charges of "criminal mischief".

City Councilperson Antonio Pagan is calling for a one-year moratorium on concerts or public events in Tompkins Square after the park's reopening, slated for July. "That's unconstitutional, too," says NYCLU's Siegel. "The premise that rock music causes violence went out in the '50's. If you're concerned about violence, you can regulate the activity -- set the decibel levels, the hours. But you can't prohibit it -- it's First Amendment-protected."

Many activists suspect that police may want to keep a tight lid on the contentious Lower East Side neighborhood in anticipation of the upcoming Democratic National Convention, scheduled to take place in Madison Square Garden July 13-16, which is certain to draw large protests. Siegel says the NYCLU is calling for a "First Amendment Zone" to be established near Madison Square Garden during the convention to assure that free speech is observed -- the potentially long, hot summer's tensions notwithstanding.

"ART AROUND THE PARK" LOCAL ARTISTS USED TO MAKE TOMPKINS SQUARE "SAFE"

By Chris Flash

When is an art show not just an art show? When it is set up by a group using the participating artists for their own ends.

On May 9th, a beautiful sunny day, a huge plastic "canvas" was hung and stretched around the fence surrounding Tompkins Square Park for a show called "Art Around The Park." Almost 200 artists were registered to paint and draw on their allotted space on the "canvas."

This is the same fence that had political banners ripped from it by cops who also threatened and harrassed people during the Free Speech Speakout the night before at 7th Street and Avenue A. Last summer, two political artists who hung an art piece on the fence during a peaceful demonstration were arrested and put "through the system" for 24 hours. This is the same fence that was erected around the park when it was closed on June 3, 1991, for $2.5 million in unnecessary "renovations" in spite of a declared fiscal crisis by mayor Dinkins who closed libraries and considered turning off street lights, and in spite of protests by the community and its "elected officials." This is the same fence that has been guarded around the clock by cops, costing over $10 million last summer alone, since the community would take it down instantly if given a chance.

The "Art Around The Park" show was set up by BEVA, a group of merchants, business owners and landlords led by Kathy Kirkpatrick, owner of the once cool, but now horribly yuppified Life Café. BEVA, which stands for "Better East Village Association" (they now claim it means "Businesses in the East Village Association") was created in 1990 by Kirkpatrick and other business owners. One local merchant, a former BEVA member, told the SHADOW, "They're people who are not originally from this neighborhood. They have a vision for this neighborhood, and they want it to look like somewhere else...like Columbus Avenue."

BEVA, using their certification as a "501 (c) (3)" non-profit organization, obtained through the efforts of attorney Liz Schollenberger, a rabid right-winger from Greenwich Village who has worked with city councilman Antonio Pagan for years to get Tompkins Square Park closed, has obtained grant money ($38,000 so far) from the New York City Department of Business Services. Another person active in BEVA has been Chris Widgren, Pagan's campaign secretary, who does not operate a store or business here.

Many merchant members of BEVA have been offended by Kirkpatrick's politicalization of the group through her associations with Pagan's people and their efforts to get the park closed. Kirkpatrick was heard answering these concerns by saying "I'm just trying to get help from anyone I can. I learn a lot from these people."

Now, almost a year after the closing of the park, BEVA members who wanted it closed and "cleaned up" have lost so much money and business that they are desperately seeking to get the park re-opened "for economic improvement in the East Village." To accomplish this, BEVA feels the image of the "East Village" must be re-done, or in this case, painted over, to make it appealing to yuppies and tourists again. (When questioned by the SHADOW, BEVA members Mark Frisk and Bob Perl both denied BEVA ties to Pagan and the effort to close the park, but agreed that BEVA should have communicated more effectively with their neighbors and included their input in BEVA's plans.)

As reported in SHADOW #23, BEVA planned several projects in the neighborhood, but nothing ever materialized. To date, they have only published a small newsletter and a "tourist guide and business directory" of "The East Village". The map of the "East Village" is drawn to conveniently exclude a large Hispanic and Black population--placing the East River at the end of Avenue B, highlighting several churches, but excluding St. Brigid's church at 7th and Avenue B, a church with a large number of Hispanic parishoners headed by Father George Kuhn, who supports the struggle on the Lower East Side, and highlighting the Christodora House at 9th And Avenue B (former low-income housing stolen from the people and now the much-hated symbol of yuppie gentrification on the Lower East Side). Considering the small output by BEVA, many wonder what the grant money has been spent on.

As the real estate gentrifiers, speculators and developers before them used the influx of artists and musicians on the Lower East Side in the 1980s to help fuel the rapid increase in rents, removal of low-income housing, illegal evictions of low-income tenants, destruction of squatted buildings, and yuppie boutiques

See BEVA ART SHOW On Page 15

FLASH FOTO

PERFORMANCE ARTISTS BUSTED BY RIOT COPS!!

By Suzie Miles

For generations, the Lower East Side has represented a unique mix of cultures and ideas which have usually co-existed with little conflict. Artistic and political ideas have flourished in this receptive environment. In recent years however, the dark hand of censorship has fallen upon the neighborhood and it recently left its mark in an unpleasant confrontation between a peaceful performance event and the police. The result was six arrests and outrage from the community.

On the evening of Sunday, May 3rd, the Theatre for the New City (TNC) performed "Roadkill," the grand finale to its First Annual Eco-Festival, a multi-leveled weeklong event of performance, music, and art on ecological themes. Director George Bartenieff of TNC spent two years planning, coordinating, and seeking funding for the Festival which would join science and art together to celebrate and explore ecological ideas. With the aid of a small grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and the assistance of the Learning Alliance and the American Indian Home, TNC brought artists, scholars, ecologists, futurists, and actors, as well as the audience together for ten peaceful days of ecological lectures, discussions, workshops, exhibitions, music, videos, plays and performance art.

Planners of the event wanted to finish the festival with a climactic ending that everyone could participate in. The idea of a car transformation came from Leo Shapiro and Shaliko Company, and was quickly embraced. The adverse ecological impact of automobiles upon our society was an obvious factor in developing the performance piece, but the recent tragedy involving an out of control car which plowed through Washington Square Park killing several people was the clincher.

The group originally thought of burying a car, but chose instead to do something more transformational, and decided to turn a car into a planter. The car, a 1976 Cutlass Supreme, was bought in Pennsylvania and driven to New York where it was prepared for the event. The car was painted a lovely shade of pink, the hood, trunk and roof were cut for easy removal, and a $1500 PA system was installed. The car was registered, had temporary license plates and was street legal. Stencils of all kinds of animals--squirrels, dogs, frogs, birds, etc, representing roadkill (animals killed by cars), were spray-painted along 10th Street and around Tompkins Square Park.

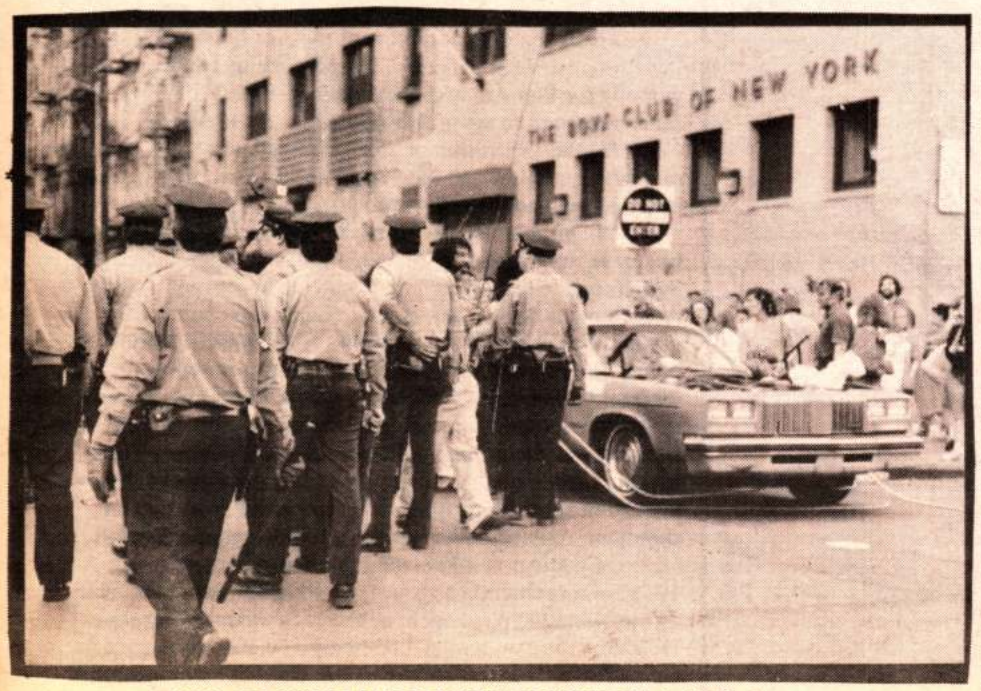
The event kicked off when artists, performers and audience members gathered inside the theatre to begin the finale. A mystic car poem written by playwright Karen Malapede combining the names of cars (El Dorado, Legend, Caprice, etc.) was read aloud. One at a time, a litany of excesses -- power, abuse, greed -- was recited. Roy Hutchins, a performance artist, read from "Autogeddon" a book by Heathcote Williams about how cars are killing the planet. Everyone started polishing and cleaning the car obsessively. The car was turned off, they popped off the hood, trunk and roof, and ripped parts off the motor. At this point, approximately 6:30 PM, the crowd had reached almost 100 people, and everyone moved outside the theater onto 10th street.

The car was filled with flowers and tree branches and people dressed as "corpse clowns" wore ghostly makeup. People had wheelbarrows filled with plants and an apple tree, carrying flowering branches and pussy willows. Dogs and children wearing bloodied bandage costumes played. Ropes were tied onto the car, and it was pulled down 10th Street, running over the street stencils as red paint, dripped onto the tires, left bloody tire tracks in the street. Bartenieff was the voice of the car, and he became the car that crashed into Washington Square Park. "I can't stop, I can't stop ... Get out of my way!" said the car as it drove towards the crowd.

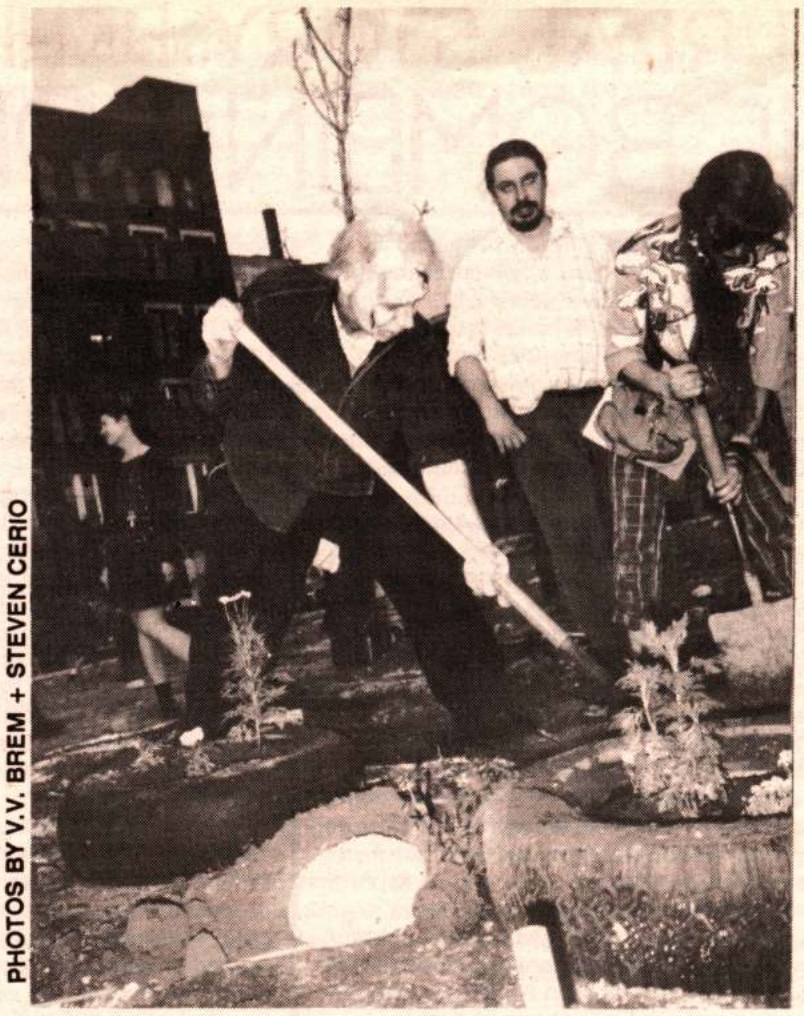
Two percussion bands, the O Samba Dance Ensemble and Tigressa played drums as the crowd marched down the street. Bartenieff described it as "a ten piece Mardigras. It was very joyous and buoyant." Wayne Fields, Editor of Auto Free Press, an anti-automobile newsletter, said, "I felt really exhilarated. The idea of people dancing and cavorting down Avenue A with wheelbarrows filled with flowers to plant in a car was really touching."

As the paraders reached Avenue A, they were met by a force of about 50 police clad in riot gear who blocked the street. The police (including a communications vehicle and several paddy wagons) had been stationed at the corner of A and 10th Street all day. At the time of the TNC event, another police deployment (including members of the 9th Precinct and Manhattan South Task Force, both in uniform and plainclothes) were monitoring the Squatter May Day picnic taking place at La Plaza Cultural at 9th Street and Avenue C.

John Orcutt, representing Transportation Alternatives at "Roadkill" told the SHADOW: "The police completely blocked the street. They immediately started grabbing people, and yelled 'Get off the street, get off the street.'" He recognized several police who were at the Greenpeace demonstration at the United Nations earlier that week. Without warning, the cops quickly arrested six people, including Shapiro, his son, performers and a bystander who had nothing to do with the event. Five people were charged with disorderly conduct, and one person (who was steering the car as it was being dragged with ropes) was



PIGS ARREST MARCHERS AT 10TH ST.+ AVE. A



PHOTOS BY V.V. BREM + STEVEN CERIO

TREES GET PLANTED IN LOT IN SPITE OF ARRESTS

charged with criminal mischief. The police told Bartenieff, who was in the car, to "get going" and pointed uptown. Another member of the performance said, "We'll meet you down there," pointing east. Some people say that maybe the police thought this statement connected the TNC group with the people at La Plaza Cultural. (The car had been parked in front of La Plaza earlier in the day as it was being prepped for the event.) At this point, the car was leaking red paint all over the street and this got the police extremely agitated, according to witnesses.

The police then ordered everybody out of the car, an officer got in, and drove it away. Bartenieff says that no voucher was given to him for either the car or the $1500 worth of PA equipment which was in it. When he later called Police Headquarters to inquire about it, the police were incredulous, and said that it was improper procedure to take the car away without giving documentation. The car was later parked in front of the 9th Precinct on 5th Street where it sat for several days before it suddenly disappeared. The police claimed no knowledge of the disappearance or whereabouts of the car for almost a week, although now they are saying that the car and PA system are being held as "evidence."

When the police asked Shapiro for his permit, he told them about a letter of support TNC received from Community Board 3 two days before the event. They said that it just wasn't good enough. According to "Detective" Richard Johnson of the 9th Precinct, who says he had knowledge of the event beforehand, Bartenieff needed a permit and neglected to get one. Johnson claims that he offered Bartenieff a police escort for his event, but Bartenieff told the SHADOW that would have completely changed the tone and mood of what they were doing.

When Bartenieff saw Shapiro and the others being taken away, he thought, "Arrest me too!" but changed his mind. He wanted the event to go on. The performers straggled peacefully down Avenue A toward 7th Street without any leaders. The police watched their every move. Fields said the police were "carefully" guarding an old guy who was pushing a wheelbarrow. At 7th and Avenue B, undercover cops joined the march. The percussion started up again, and people slowly made their way under full police escort to the 8th Street lot.

As the marchers arrived at the lot, they were met by amazing music from a Tibetan monk who had performed earlier during the festival. Bartenieff says that the monk's presence at the festival was very important, not only because of his talent, but because of his world renown. The monk had a PA set up to amplify his music which sounded like the wind. He later stopped playing after people told him about the police arrests of the band at La Plaza, for fear that his instruments would also be seized.

Although the car/planter had been taken away, the group quickly improvised with tires which were lying around the lot. They proceeded to plant flowers and an apple tree in the tires, and put a white picket fence around the garden. The monk told Bartenieff that despite the arrests, "The important thing is that you went ahead and did the planting anyway." He gave his blessing to the event, and sprinkled holy water on the plants. People from the party and drum circle at La Plaza soon joined in, bringing over a large mural depicting global unity and peace which had been painted during their party, and they kept an even larger drum circle/metal jam going on all night.

The SHADOW, making several inquiries at the NYPD's Public Information Division about the "Roadkill" arrests, discovered that the NYPD can now find no record of the police action. All arrested were released by 9:00 PM with Desk Appearance Tickets, and TNC is seeking a lawyer to fight the charges and get the car and PA returned to them.

(Epilogue: The garden in the lot lasted only a week. Although Bartenieff and others visited the garden to tend and water the flowers and the trees, on Sunday evening a van was seen pulling up to the lot. Two men got out and completely carried away the garden. Bartenieff regrets that the garden was stolen, but he is hopeful that it is flourishing -- wherever it is now.

George Bartenieff says that the actions of Sunday, May 3rd are the opposite of civilization, and that it is the ultimate metaphor for the fear of spontaneity.

Bartenieff says he feels especially bad about the behavior of the 9th Precinct officers. He explained that every Christmas, Theatre for the New City and the 9th Precinct have teamed up to bring a Christmas party to the children of the neighborhood. Detective Johnson claimed that he felt "sadness" about the confrontation, but unfortunately, sadness about an unnecessary and unwarranted police action will not heal the wounds which have been inflicted upon the Theatre for the New City.

At press time, appearance dates have not been set for those arrested. Hopefully, all charges will be dropped. Stay tuned to The SHADOW for updates on the case.)

THE REAL STORY BEHIND THE BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103

By Paul DeRienzo

On December 21, 1988, a Pan Am 747 jumbo jet carrying 259 passengers and crew was blown out of the sky over Lockerbie, Scotland. The rain of debris fell on the quiet Scottish town, killing 11 more people on the ground. Within months, Pan Am's insurance company, U.S. Aviation Underwriters, began a comprehensive investigation that uncovered the presence of a joint CIA-State Department hostage-rescue team aboard the flight and set the stage for a multi-million dollar lawsuit over who would take the blame for the disaster.

Within months of the bombing of Pan Am flight 103, Interfor, a New York consulting group hired by Pan Am and headed by Juval Aviv, a self-proclaimed former Israeli intelligence officer, issued a 27 page report. The report said that a brown Samsonite suitcase containing 300 grams of the plastic explosive Semtex was placed on board the flight in Frankfurt, Germany, without being subject to airport security measures. The reason the suitcase was not inspected, according to the Aviv report, was that it was supposed to contain heroin destined for the United States. Heroin that was part of a sting operation carried out with the sanction of the Drug Enforcement Agency with the help of a Syrian drug trafficker, Monzer al-Kassar, the brother of Syrian intelligence chief Ali Issa Duba.

Al-Kassar was exposed during the Iran-Contra hearings as being part of the covert network organized by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North. According to testimony by former National Security Advisor John Poindexter, al-Kassar was key to the release of two French hostages held in Lebanon in exchange for arms shipped to Iran.

Aviv, who relies on unnamed sources for his report, says al-Kassar was smuggling heroin with the protection of a freewheeling CIA unit, code-named COREA, based in Wiesbaden, Germany. An April article in **Time Magazine** reported that COREA was trafficking in drugs and arms to gain access to "terrorist groups."

Aviv wrote that at the same time, al-Kassar was using a DEA-protected route to smuggle suitcases full of heroin through Frankfurt into the United States. The smuggling was part of a sting operation set up by the DEA to monitor heroin shipments from Lebanon to Detroit and other U.S. cities with large arab populations, allegedly to catch U.S. drug dealers. The Aviv report maintains that al-Kassar was also offered and used CIA protection to continue smuggling heroin for his own enrichment, in exchange for help in obtaining the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

According to Aviv, the COREA group's involvement with the Syrian drug trafficker was discovered by a special hostage rescue team that was planning a mission to free the U.S. hostages being held in Lebanon. The men were enraged that the CIA was working with people who they suspected might be funneling information to Syrian intelligence. The team decided on a surprise flight back to the United States to expose the COREA unit's secret dealings with al-Kassar.

M. Gene Wheaton is a retired U.S. military-intelligence officer with 17 years experience in the Middle East who has been hired as an investigator by families of the victims of the 1985 crash of a military transport plane over Gander, Newfoundland, that killed 245 soldiers returning from duty in Lebanon. Wheaton sees similarities between that crash and the Lockerbie bombing. Wheaton says former associates involved in covert operations believe the Pan Am bombers were "gunning" for the hostage rescue team. He maintains that the investigation was shifted because it revealed an embarrassing breakdown in security.

Victor Marchetti, former executive assistant to the CIA's deputy director and co-author of **The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence**, believes that the presence of the team on Pan Am 103 should not be ignored. "It's like the loose thread of a sweater," he says. "Pull on it and the whole thing might unravel."

The Interfor report was anxiously received by Pan Am, which is facing a multi-million dollar lawsuit by families of the victims of the flight 103 bombing. Although Pan Am has declared bankruptcy, its insurance company could be held accountable in the suit currently being argued in federal court in Brooklyn, New York.

Despite the fact that major elements of Aviv's story have been corroborated by **Time** and other independent researchers, there are weaknesses with Aviv's version of events. They make the Israeli security agency, the Mossad, and Pan Am seem beyond reproach, but the Germans, CIA and all Arabs look bad.

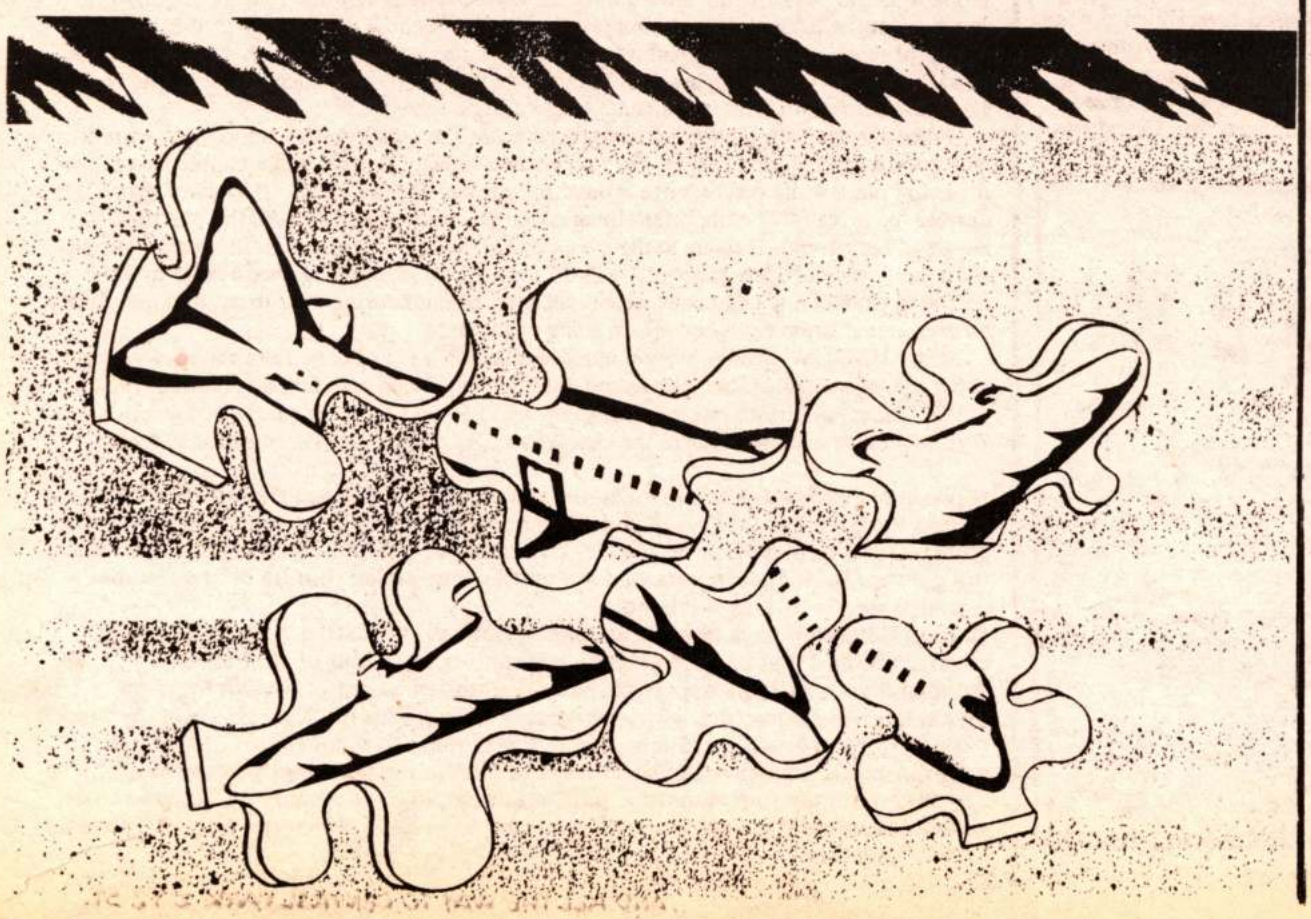
The major media gave little coverage to the charges until a week before the Pan Am civil trial began on April 27th in Brooklyn. Despite the growing evidence of some level of Syrian involvement in the Lockerbie disaster, on October 10, 1990, the **New York Times** ran a front page article entitled "Libya Now Linked to Pan Am Blast." **The Times** itself ran a story in 1985 explaining why then President Reagan had left Syria off a list of so-called terrorist states, because Syrian president Assad had been "helpful to the United States" in negotiating the release of hostages from Lebanon.

Times reporter Michael Wines explained that "circumstantial" evidence had been produced that shifted the blame for the Lockerbie bombing to Libya. This same line of investigation led to United States pressure for a UN-sanctioned embargo against Libya for not handing over two suspects in the bombing.

Beginning in November of 1991, the U.S. Justice Department blamed Libyan government officials Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi and Lamen Khalifa Fhimah for the bombing. President Bush himself remarked, "The Syrians took a bum rap on this." But the charges against the Libyans outraged the victim's families, who maintained that the Bush administration was rewarding Syria for supporting the U.S. in the 1991 Persian Gulf War by pointing the finger at Libya. The former head of the CIA investigation into the bombing, Vincent Cannistraro, told the **New York Times** it was "outrageous" to pin the whole thing on Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

In the civil lawsuit being argued before Justice Thomas C. Platt of the federal court in Brooklyn, attorneys for the families of the victims of the Lockerbie disaster maintain that Pan Am is guilty of "willful misconduct" for allowing the bomb laden suitcase aboard flight 103.

The attorney for the families, Lee Kriendler, argued that Chief Inspector Harry Bell, a British police detective and one of the most important players in the criminal investigation, used the resources of the United Kingdom Arms Lab to find the remains of the suitcase, the Toshiba radio that concealed the bomb from the wreckage of Pan Am 103 and a fingernail-sized piece of a Swiss digital timer.



At first investigators believed the bomb had been triggered by a barometric detonator. Activated by altitude, a barometric detonator is more reliable than a timer, especially in winter, when flights are often delayed. But the Swiss timer was traced to Libya and was considered evidence of Libyan planting of the bomb.

Among the bits of suitcase and remnants of the cassette-radio was a burned fragment of a shirt used to wrap the bomb. The British investigator traced the shirt to the island nation of Malta in the Mediterranean. Malta lies near Libya and a connecting flight from the island met Pan Am 103 in Frankfurt, where passengers and baggage from Malta made the connection for the flight to New York. Inspector Bell visited numerous clothing factories in Malta until he found the same lot of clothing believed to originate in the brown suitcase that carried the bomb. The Inspector was then able to trace the goods to Mary's House, a shop in Malta where the clothing was supposedly sold to al-Megrahi, one of the Libyans wanted for extradition by the United States. However, the Malta shopkeeper who sold the clothing confused pictures of the Libyan with those of a Palestinian arrested in Sweden, casting doubt on the identification.

Kriendler attempted to link the October 1988 raid by German police on a hideout used by the Syrian-linked Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- General Command, headed by Ahmend Jibril. That raid turned up Toshiba radio bombs identical to the one suspected of bringing down Pan Am 103. In the process of examining one of the bombs found at the hideout, it exploded, killing a German explosives expert.

The Federal Aviation Administration warned airlines soon after to guard against similar bombs, in a security bulletin released five weeks before the Lockerbie bombing. Kriendler argued that the FAA had specifically warned that "such a bomb is extremely difficult to detect" and that each airline must strictly enforce "positive match" criteria for suitcases loaded from connecting flights.

Positive match criteria is an FAA regulation requiring airlines to make sure every piece of baggage on a flight is directly connected to a passenger on the same flight. The regulation is based on the questionable rational that terrorists *would be unlikely to destroy a flight they were travelling on.* According to Kriendler, the security provided by Pan Am was "woefully inadequate" and that the positive match rule for baggage from connecting flights was not followed, allowing the bomb laden bag to be transferred to Pan AM 103 at the Frankfurt airport from the connecting flight originating in Malta.

In a exclusive interview with the **SHADOW** the Libyan ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. Ali Ahmed Elhouderi maintained that documents in his possession prove the suitcase carrying the bomb that destroyed Pan Am 103 could not have originated in Malta. Elhouderi said that the United States was "undermining its own justice system" by condemning Libya without showing proof of Libyan involvement in the destruction of Pan Am 103.

Pan Am's lead attorney, Clinton "Bud" Coddington, for his part argued that Pan Am's security system was approved by the FAA and that the bomb was placed on board Pan Am 103 in Frankfurt in a way that Pan Am could not have been expected to prevent. Coddington, in his opening arguments before the court, asserted that "the bomb could not have been from Malta." He argued that the baggage handling system at the Frankfurt airport presented "opportunities for misconduct." Judge Platt told Coddington that he was taking a risk in presenting that argument and that the judge would take the "very unusual" step of telling the jury to ignore the defense theory unless it was backed up by evidence.

Coddington was hinting at the story presented in Juval Aviv's report. That a Turkish baggage handler in Frankfurt working for Pan Am and involved in al-Kassar's DEA/CIA-sanctioned heroin smuggling had been recruited by Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- General Command to switch the usual heroin laden suitcase for one carrying the bomb to be loaded on Pan Am 103.

Juval Aviv claims Monzer al-Kassar's drug operation was being monitored by Ahmed Jibril, who approached the Syrian to gain his aid for attacking U.S. and Israeli targets. According to Aviv, a last minute double-cross among the plotters led al-Kassar to tip off the authorities to Jibril's plans. The report continues that the CIA ordered airport security tightened everywhere except in Frankfurt, where they believed their support of al-Kassar made them immune from attack. According to the report, the Turkish baggage handler intercepted a suitcase on the baggage conveyor and instead of substituting another one with the usual heroin shipment, replaced it with the suitcase carrying the bomb.

Coddington maintained that the bombing of Pan Am 103 was in retaliation for the 1987 shootdown of an Iranian 747 jet with 290 passengers by the U.S. warship **Vincennes**. He called the Pan Am 103 bombing a "highly sophisticated act of war against the people of the United States" and said that private airlines can not guarantee the safety of international flights.

THE 19TH ANNUAL FIFTH AVENUE POT PARADE STRIKES AGAIN!!

By A. Kronstadt

It must be admitted at the start that the planning process for the 19th Annual Fifth Avenue Pot Parade was quite a roller coaster ride. The broadest coalition in years assembled to put on the 1992 Smoke-In in Washington Square Park. Known as the New York Grass Roots Cannabis Coalition, it included the Yippies who have been working on the Smoke-Ins for years, as well as High Times Magazine, the Cannabis Action Network, the Green Panthers, Unconventional Action, Freedom Fighters, the SHADOW, and other forces opposed to the Great Drug War and police intervention in people's lives.

The planning process began way back in February and the permit applications had been put in long before that. We started early with the publicity, using thousands of fluorescent green stickers in addition to wheat-pasted posters. Of course, any organizer will tell you that what happened over the previous month is of no consequence: trouble is something which happens at the last minute. Brand Nubian, the famous rappers, had been booked a month in advance. It turned out two weeks before the show that the guy who had committed the band had had no business doing so. Thus, no Brand Nubian. Cypress Hill, rappers from South Central Los Angeles who openly advocate marijuana (they did "Stoned is the Way of the Walk," and the ever appropriate "Pigs") had been booked three weeks before the show. They had to cancel at the last minute because their neighborhood was in flames and their city under martial law.

Furthermore, the cops were giving us all kinds of shit about the permit. The 6th Precinct, embodied in sweaty, chain-smoking P.O. Singer from Community Affairs, was saying that organizers of the Smoke-In had given the precinct problems in the past about the sound level. It turns out that the cops were thinking about an entirely different concert, but they were threatening to confiscate the sound equipment without warning if the sound could be detected more than fifty feet from the stage. This all sounded like bullshit, and our lawyers found that it was indeed bullshit even from the standpoint of noise regulations. Singer was reflecting the concerns of the wealthy jerks with their condo windows facing the park for whom any sound in Washington Square Park not uttered by a pedigreed dog or its owner is excess noise. We did, however, end up facing quite a bit of uncertainty as High Noon in Washington Square Park approached.

In fact, the event came off in such a way as to credit not only New York's counterculture, but New York as a whole. Coming fifteen hours after the most *turbulent riot* in decades had passed one block from where the stage was located, the Smoke-In united diverse communities in peaceful opposition to marijuana prohibition and cop tyranny. The police had gotten a bit smarter since the riot the night before. They kept a safe distance from the crowd, and the guy from the city with the decibel meter with whom they had been threatening us never materialized. Stage Manager Lori Rizzo opened the Smoke-In by pointing out a bunch of undercover cops hanging out over by the hot-dog stand. One of them, she noted to the derision of the crowd, was wearing a Bob Marley T-shirt. He disappeared and turned up later with a Grateful Dead T-shirt (Lori's response was "I'll be grateful when you're dead.")

The selection of bands was as diverse as the crowd. Homeboys, punks, and freaks enjoyed hiphop, hardcore, and Tibetan bluegrass in the hot sun. The crowd went from nothing to upwards of two thousand between High Noon and one o'clock. Joints were immediately lit up without fear, in contrast to recent years, because of the size of the crowd and because the cops were loathe to risk the ever-possible riot over something as petty as a spliff. Everybody enjoyed everybody else's music, and nobody got uptight about the absence of either Cypress Hill or Brand Nubian. The only thing which attracted any attention from the standpoint of security was a little bit of beer being splashed in the slam pit during Humyn Sewage, a squatter band from Loisaida. Everybody understood the Dharma Bums when they played "On the Wrong Side of the Law." Roger Manning's "Fuck the Police" (not the NWA version, but an anti-folk anthem) excited more than the anti-folkies in the audience, which must have been up to three thousand by that point. Hiphop artists, who have been taking up the marijuana issue in greater and greater numbers this year, were represented by Positive Unity and The Lost Tribe of Buddha, the latter of which had been recruited on the spot to play with borrowed instruments.

There were more women on the stage as performers and speakers at this Smoke-In than in the previous eighteen. Elvy Musikka, one of the few people in the United States authorized to receive medical marijuana, spoke about the importance of the weed in dealing with her glaucoma. Dawn Tolia spoke about the situation of her husband Kenny Tolia, who had helped organize many Smoke-Ins before being framed and sent to jail for a year in the recent Mayday trial. There were also speeches by Smoke-In regulars Aron "Pieman" Kay, and our favorite marijuana songs by David Peel. Lori led the crowd in a number of colorful chants, including the immortal "Smoke Pot-Get High, All The Racists Are Gonna Die."

Keeping with tradition, the pot parade later made it's way up Fifth Avenue, most of the time occupying part of the street due to the large number of marchers, into Sheep's Meadow in Central Park. Scores of cops followed them all the way into the park, but as usual, when the marchers hit the field, the cops pulled back, looking on longingly as everyone lit up joints and pipes filled with pot. Somebody who came through Sheep Meadow selling dime bags said that only on Smoke-In day can he sell dime bags in that part of the park. Ordinarily, there are undercover pigs up on the rocks with binoculars scoping out pot dealers (and beer peddlers), but with all of the militant potheads around the cops don't dare make any arrests.

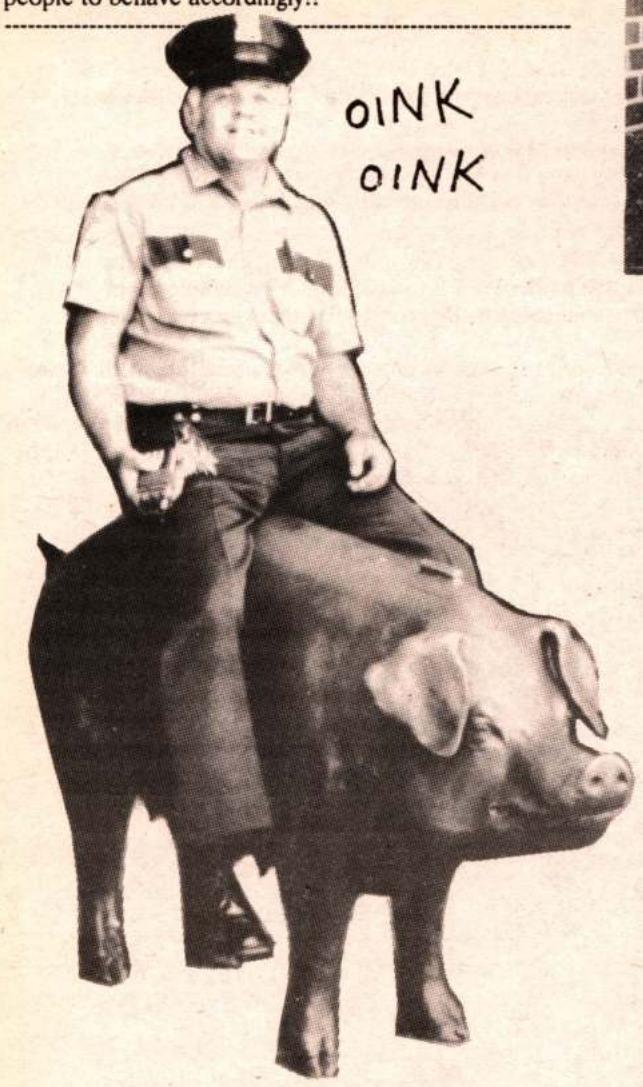
It must have amazed the NYPD to see thousands of the very people whom they, with their little constipated minds, are the most afraid of, gathered together and defying the petty laws which cops are sworn to enforce--without a single incident of violence. All this *occurred after an evening of blood and broken* glass brought on by racist cops and the racist idiots who make excuses for them. It was a tribute to New York, and a tribute to marijuana, the healing of the nation.

OFFICER LACKEY
by LOSMO 92
AFTER A WILD AND CRAZY CONCERT IN WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK, MORE THAN A THOUSAND WILD AND CRAZY FOLKS MARCHED UP 5TH AVE....
THE POPE SMOKES DOPE
AWRIGHT.. KEEP IT MOVIN' AND STAY ON THE SIDE WALK!
WE SMOKE POT AND WE LIKE IT A LOT
19TH ANNUAL FIFTH AVE POT PARADE
FREE THE WEED
GRRR
GR..
G..
HEE HEE
TO 8TH ST...
14TH ST....
23RD ST....
34TH ST...
..AND ALL THE WAY TO CENTRAL PARK & 72 ST.

Well, here we are <u>again</u>! Spring has already sprung in Tompkins Square: Curtis Sliwa and his "Guardian Nazis" are coming around again, the kops have set up their THV (Temporary Headquarters Vehicle) at Avenue A + 10th Street, and the neighborhood is suddenly crawling with kops for no apparent reason, using the slightest pretext to bust and beat people. It looks like it's gonna be a <u>real</u> hot summer!!

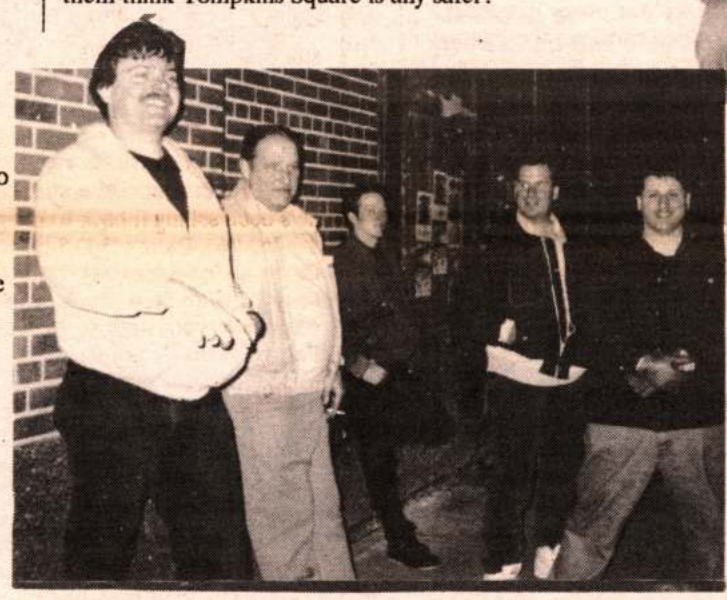
Of course, all year long, just a block away from the THV, at First Avenue and 10th Street, drug gangs are still dealing openly on the streets. But don't tell that to the kops--they really want to you to believe that the <u>real</u> threat lies somewhere along Avenue A, where political activists congregate near the park.

Guaranteed to heat things up this summer is this latest crew of kill krazy kops led by Captains Hanley and Esposito of the 9th precinct. Already they've got the ball rolling: Kops have been ignoring First Amendment rights by harrassing and trying to stop the Free Speech Speak-Outs at the corner of 7th Street + Avenue A on Friday nights; Kops busted an entire band and stole their sound equipment and food during a neighborhood block party; Kops then busted performance artists on their way to plant flowers and trees in a vacant lot (these same people used to help kops put on x-mas shows for kids!!) Haven't these kops learned anything from the anger and riots resulting from the Rodney King verdict? Apparently, they think the answer is to be <u>more</u> repressive--yeah boys, <u>that</u>'ll teach the people to behave accordingly!!



Speaking of restricting Free Speech, along with the celebrities and politicians appearing at the April 21st ceremony renaming the Public Theater to the "Joseph Papp Public Theater" was city councilasshole Antonio Pagan. A local activist, hearing Pagan tell the audience that he cares for the people of the Lower East Side, and other outrageous bullshit, couldn't take anymore, so he shouted "FUCK PAGAN!!" Minutes after getting elbowed in the chest by a kop who said "Take a walk," he was chased by several fat huffing and puffing kops, including P.O. Quinn (best known for his lawsuit against the city to get Tompkins Square Park closed, alleging that the homeless were engaged in bestiality in the park.) Catching the activist at the corner of Bowery and 7th Street with the help of a yuppie from Connecticut eating Domino's Pizza, the kops ground his face into the pavement and roughed him up. When he asked why he was being arrested, the kops told him "Resisting Arrest." Back at the 9th precinct, the kops said "We finally got him," charging him with typical false charges used by kops when they have no case: "Obstructing Governmental Administration," "Assault" (claiming he bit a kop!), and "Resisting Arrest." After sending him through the system for 24 hours, he was released without bail even though the DA tried for $500.

These plainclothes kops were seen hanging out on May 1st, at Avenue A + 6th Street, <u>after</u> the big riot. What makes them think Tompkins Square is any safer?



KOPS BUST TWO FOR HOLDING NEWSPAPERS (CATHOLIC PRIEST VERBALLY ABUSED)

On May 15th, a large number of kops put on their big annual Put-On, called "Kids Against Drugs," sponsored by the NYPD, Coca-Cola (the biggest drug of all!!), and the Parks Department. The kops led a march up Avenue A with political slime such as Antonio Pagan (whom the SHADOW hears likes his drugs as much as anybody), Pagan's partner in sleaze Sheldon Silver, and Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau with his young son, with hundreds of youngsters behind them. As the parade passed the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A on its way to the park, two activists, Joel Meyers and John Squat, held signs and banners reading: "Killer Kops Deal Cocaine" "You Can't Trust The Cops" and newspaper headlines detailing the arrests of coke-dealing kops.

Almost immediately, they were set upon by the cops, who whisked them away to the 9th precinct. The arrests were witnessed by Father George Kuhn, pastor of St. Brigid's Church a block away. When he went to the precinct house to ask why they were arrested for holding signs, the desk sergeant and other kops claimed they didn't know, but said that a Captain was in the park. Outside the precinct, Father George discovered a canvas bag belonging to one of the activists, and when he went inside to give it to the desk sergeant, he suddenly decided he was allergic to Father George's dog and told him to get out, though he had the dog inside with him moments before.

Father George then had a friend hold the dog outside while he returned the bag. Kops standing outside were heard calling Father George a "COCK-SUCKING FAGGOT!"

After a 24 hour trip through the system, Joel was released without bail and John was held on $500 bail since the kops claimed he was resisting arrest!

Add to these incidents the nasty habit kops have started where they now attack demonstrators and assembled groups with large force, without warning. Sources tell the SHADOW that the kops want to impress upon us their determination not to take any shit from the activists on the Lower East Side, setting the stage before the park is slated to re-open on July 9th, (which is probably a bullshit date anyway.) The word that the kops haven't heard and that they never learn every time they set the stage for an explosion of anger is that their strategy always backfires on them!

Here's a photo of one of the biggest pigs in our ↓ neighborhood. His name is Richard E. Johnson. He is seen all over the place, eating and monitoring demonstrations. Not only does he <u>never</u> wear a uniform (the only time he was seen wearing one was a few months ago as he directed a line of Ukrainians getting government cheese: "Keep the line tight"), no one knows what his job is (sometimes it's "Honarary Detective"), or who he answers to (beside Antonio Pagan, right-wing landlord Krystyna Piorkowska, and other right-wing scum). He is one of the left-overs from Captain MacNamara's regime (famous for starting the August 6-7, 1988 Kop Riot). Whatever he is, or whatever he pretends to be, remember this face. (Who could ever forget it?) He has been seen lately with a new partner, who enjoys eating out with him:

Female P.O. Yoli was confronted by an outraged crowd in late April as she demonstrated to her partners how tough she is by beating and kicking a man sleeping in a doorway near Ray's Pizza on Avenue A. Unfortunately, despite the crowd's attempt to stop them, the kops were able to get the man taken away and he was never seen again.

Speaking of others being "disappeared," Kop Watchers have been reporting the presence of a mysterious dark blue Dodge Ram van with covered side windows roaming the area. Minutes after a Kop Watcher told the SHADOW about seeing the van swoop down on a group of young men on April 30th, with undercover kops pouring out and taking one of the men away without a word, the very same van passed them, going east on Houston Street, stopping at the corner of Avenue B. Another Kop-Watcher reported seeing the van parked at the Saint Marx entrance to Tompkins Square Park, receiving cuffed prisoners delivered by kop cars arriving from different directions. So much for keeping a low profile--or maybe they want you to know they are there and they can come and get you any time they want! (KOP-WATCH would appreciate any info on this van and the kops riding in it--plate numbers, photos, etc.)

As always, thanks to all of our Kop-Watchers who have been sending us info on the kops. Anyone can be and <u>should</u> be a Kop-Watcher too!! If you have any information, reports, stories, videos, photos, plate numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, and any personal details you'd like to see published and added to our files, please send it all to the SHADOW, P.O.Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009, or call us at:(212)971-9611.

REMEMBER TO GET THOSE NAMES AND BADGE NUMBERS!!

JOIN "PRIESTS + FAGGOTS AGAINST COKE DEALING KOPS" IN THEIR DEMONSTRATION AT THE 9TH PRECINCT AT 321 EAST 5TH STREET ON THURSDAY, MAY 14, AT 5:00 PM. LET THE KOPS KNOW WE WON'T TAKE THEIR GAY-BAITING AND ABUSE ANY LONGER!!

"Perot's adventures in public service have inspired speculation about possible political motives on his part, but he scoffs at the suggestion that he might be interested in seeking political office...He is also regarded in some circles as an agent of the Nixon Administration. Indeed, he was a substantial contributor to the President's 1968 campaign; he allowed a number of his employees to take sabbaticals to work in the campaign; and he is an old friend of Attorney General John Mitchell."
--Current Biography 1971

Like Richard Nixon's former speech writer, Patrick Buchanan, billionaire H. Ross Perot of Dallas, Texas is posing as an "anti-Establishment" presidential candidate in 1992. Yet like the right-wing extremist Buchanan, Perot acted as an agent of the Nixon wing of the U.S. Establishment during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As even the **New York Times** recently reported in its May 8, 1992 issue: "Ross Perot, whose incipient Presidential campaign is based largely on his image as an outsider, was closely allied with the Nixon White House, often asked for special favors and promised contributions to Nixon public-relation efforts, according to documents in the National Archives."

PEROT'S NIXON FOUNDATION CONNECTION

As the now-defunct **Ramparts Magazine** noted in a November 1971 article by Robert Fitch, "H. Ross Perot: America's First Welfare Billionaire," Perot's "work at Christmas time, 1969, in behalf of President Nixon's Vietnam policy (price tag approximately $6 million) earned him considerable White House favor." Perot had financed and helped organize an effort to win world sympathy for Nixon's Vietnam War policy and for the captured U.S. bomber pilots in North Vietnam who had helped carry out the Pentagon's aerial bombardment of Vietnam. Perot directed a team of experts in his Electronic Data Systems (E.D.S.) company to devise a pro-war campaign and, according to **Current Biography 1971**, "The E.D.S. group quickly set up an organization called United We Stand, which spent $1,000,000 on newspaper and television advertising to publicize the POW problem and to urge public support of President Nixon's Vietnam policies." The same book also noted that "In Perot's opinion, the fastest way out of Vietnam" in 1971 was "for United States citizens to unite behind the government" of Richard Nixon. But, as the **New York Times** finally reported on May 8, 1992, "Documents from the National Archives indicate that Mr. Perot's campaign in support of American prisoners of war was part of an orchestrated effort by the Nixon White House to build support" for Nixon's Vietnam War policies, although "at the time of Mr. Perot's activities" Nixon's staff, "in an effort to insure Mr. Perot's efforts were perceived as a grass-roots operation, sought to maintain an arms-length relationship with Mr. Perot."

In its 1971 article on Perot, **Ramparts Magazine** also revealed that "Even before his campaign in behalf of the bombardiers, Perot had a significant relationship with" Nixon. According to **Ramparts Magazine**:

> "Soon after Nixon's inauguration, the names were announced of those chosen to participate in the Nixon Foundation. It was a very select group, indeed, including Nixon's very closest business cronies -- insurance man W. Clement Stone, Vitamin King Elmer Bobst [for which NYU's Bobst Library is named], Pepsico's Donald Kendall -- along with the President's closest relatives, brother Donald, wife Pat, Julie and David [Eisenhower]. Included on the list was Ross Perot."

Predictably, the purpose of Perot's Nixon Foundation was to provide philanthropic support for Nixon, himself -- not for poor people who were actually in need of philanthropy. According to **Ramparts Magazine**, Perot's Nixon Foundation "began to put the bite on prospective donors" early in the Nixon Administration "to raise funds for a Nixon Library and extensive real estate near the San Clemente White House to surround it" in California. In exchange for donating to the Nixon Foundation at the same time Nixon held the U.S. presidential job slot, a rich donor was able to better guarantee that the U.S. president would protect his or her special interests while in office. Prior to being named a Nixon Foundation official, Perot was also a substantial contributor to Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. In its May 8, 1992 issue, the **Times** noted also that top officials of Perot's E.D.S. company contributed over $200,000 to Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Seven E.D.S. employees were also assigned by Perot to work on Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. At least one Nixon White House aide, Peter Flanigan, met with Perot "more than 40 times" during the Nixon Presidency and, in the spring of 1970, Perot "met personally" with Nixon and "promised to contribute $10 million to set up a 'Pro-Nixon' public policy research institute," according to the **Times**.

H. Ross Perot in South Vietnam

PEROT'S U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY CONNECTION

Like former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, Perot was educated at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, where he was elected life president of his class by other future U.S. military officers. After graduating from the Naval Academy near the end of the Korean War in June 1953, Perot became a U.S. naval officer on the destroyer **USS Sigourney**. In a 1971 interview, Perot told **New York Times Magazine** that "I loved the Navy, loved the sea, loved ships." Perot, however, did not like the Navy's "waiting-in-line concept" of promotion. He spent 4 years on active military duty before being recruited by an IBM executive while working as a lieutenant on the Navy aircraft carrier **USS Leyte**.

PEROT'S IBM CONNECTION

After being discharged by the Navy in 1957, the 27-year-old Perot went to work at IBM's Dallas office as a computer salesman and was assigned by IBM to service its Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross account. Coincidentally, when Perot decided to leave IBM in 1962 to start his own private family computer business, he first obtained a part-time job as head of Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross's computer/data processing department.

PEROT'S TEXAS BLUE SHIELD/BLUE CROSS CONNECTION

As part-time head of Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross's computer/data processing department, Perot was taking home a salary of $20,000 a year from Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross by 1966 -- at the same time Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross began dishing out U.S. government-funded Medicare processing subcontracts -- on a non-competitive basis -- to Perot's private family business, Electronic Data Systems (E.D.S.).

"A welfare user gets more money from the government than a blue-collar worker pays in taxes every month."
--Ross Perot, in April 1992.

PEROT'S ELECTRONIC DATA SYSTEMS (E.D.S) OPERATION

In June 1962, Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross Computer/Data Processing Department Head Perot founded E.D.S. -- using $1,000 of his wife Margot's money. Until 1966, however, Perot's E.D.S. business of providing computerization services to clients was not excessively profitable. In June of 1965, for instance, E.D.S.'s pretax profit was less than $30,000 -- only about 3% of its annual sales -- according to the May 5, 1992 issue of the **New York Times**. Until 1966, as **Ramparts Magazine**'s 1971 article observed, for Perot's "fledgling Electronic Data Systems it was just one dry hole after another" and "E.D.S. was still basically a moon light operation for a small group of former Dallas IBMers."

During this period, however, the U.S. government's Office of Economic Opportunity/War on Poverty Agency dished out a $250,000 contract to E.D.S. to develop a computerized billing and payment system which Perot's E.D.S. would later market successfully after 1965. As **Ramparts Magazine** noted in 1971: "Not only did Perot appropriate what was essentially a government system developed at government expense; he's been selling it back to the government at fantastic rates ever since."

In 1966, Perot's E.D.S. suddenly became superprofitable when Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross -- whose computer/data processing department Perot headed -- received a lucrative contract from the U.S. government's Social Security Administration "to develop a computerized system for paying the Medicare bills," according to **Ramparts Magazine**. Perot's Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross employer then gave Perot's E.D.S. firm "a subcontract to take over their data processing on the new Medicare program using, of course, the system just developed at government expense" by Perot's firm, according to **Ramparts Magazine's** November 1971 exposé.

Over 20 years after the **Ramparts Magazine** exposé was published, the **New York Times** finally reported in its May 5, 1992 issue that "the money his company was paid as a subcontractor to Texas Blue Cross/Blue Shield came entirely from the federal government" and "Social Security officials were not told of the subcontract at the time of its signing, or of Mr. Perot's dual role with Texas Blue Cross and Electronic Data." The **Times** also finally reported that "In November or December 1966, a disgruntled former employee of Texas Blue Cross told Social Security about the situation, contending there was a conflict of interest."

As a result of Perot's initial lucrative U.S. government-funded subcontract with Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross to process Medicare claims and Perot's subsequent 3-year $5 million subcontract with Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross, E.D.S.'s pretax profit had jumped to $2.4 million by 1968 -- from only $26,487 just 3 years before. Its pre-tax profit had jumped from 3% of E.D.S.'s sales in 1965 to 31% of E.D.S.'s sales in 1968.

Perot's E.D.S. was accused by some critics of making huge profits "from overcharging the Government" since "In 1968, Social Security officials calculated that it should cost ... Perot about 36 cents to process each Medicare claim," yet Perot's "1968 deal with Texas Blue Cross called for the company to be paid $1.06 for each claim," according to the 1992 **Times** article.

PEROT'S JAMES ASTON/REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK OF DALLAS CONNECTION

Another reason why Perot's E.D.S. firm was given the lucrative Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross federally-funded Medicare processing contract -- in addition to Perot being a Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross employee -- was because of his business connection with Texas Blue

See PEROT'S NIXON CONNECTION On Page 13 (P.9)

DOONESBURY

MR. PEROT, IF I COULD FOLLOW UP ON THE DRUG WAR ISSUE, IT'S BEEN REPORTED YOU ONCE SUGGESTED CORDONING OFF MINORITY NEIGHBORHOODS TO CONDUCT HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES...
WELL, NOT EXACTLY...
WHAT I WAS TRYING TO SAY IS THAT IF YOU'RE FIXING TO MAKE A LAW ENFORCEMENT OMELETTE, YOU BETTER BE PREPARED TO BREAK EGGS, ESPECIALLY THE BAD ONES!
THE KIND OF CAMPAIGN I WOULD WAGE AGAINST DRUGS WOULD BE MASSIVE, RELENTLESS AND TOTAL! WE WOULD TAKE NO PRISONERS.
WELL, THAT SHOULD RELIEVE THE OVER-CROWDING.
HEY, IT'S JUST A COLORFUL FIGURE OF SPEECH!
5-8
UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE
© 1991 G.B. Trudeau
©B Trudeau

EVENTS & ANNOUNCEMENTS

MAY 19--RAINBOW BENEFIT--To raise money for the upcoming national Rainbow Gathering this summer in Colorado. 7:00PM at Wetlands, 161 Hudson St, $6.00 for a night of bands, slideshows, fun. For info, call (212)966-4225.

MAY 20--BROOKLYN NAVY YARD GARBAGE INCINERATOR HEARING--By the City Council and Sanitation Department, on mayor Dinkins' psychotic Brooklyn Navy Yard incinerator and his 26 year solid waste "plan", set up for his masters at the Municipal Assistance Corp. Let these elected "representatives" know how you feel about the cancer-causing chemicals and lead spewed from incinerators, and demand a real recycling program in NYC!! At City Hall, Broadway + Murray Sts, 6:15PM. For info, call (212)473-4534.

MAY 21--THE PRIVATIZATION OF MENTAL HEALTH--What this new trend means for patients and care providers. 8:00PM at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. For info, call (212)941-0332.

MAY 21--BACKLASH: THE UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST WOMEN--Discussion with "Radical Women", 7:30PM at 32 Union Sq. East. For info, call (212)677-7002.

MAY 21--NEW COMMON AGENDA--Peace groups, labor unions, environmental organizations meet to work out a strategy for pressuring to slash the Pentagon budget in this election year. 7:30PM at Judson Memorial Church, 241 Thompson St. For info, call (212)226-4590.

MAY 26--FEDERAL LAND ACTION GROUP--Fighting to stop ranching, logging, mining and other destructive activities on public lands. 5:30PM at Wetlands, 161 Hudson St. Call (212)966-5244.

MAY 29--PUERTO RICO: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST US COLONIALISM--An all-day conference for activists at Hunter College. Call 549-7988 or 601-4751.

MAY 29--CUBA IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER--A discussion with Cuba's United Nations delegate at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St, 8:00PM. Call (212)941-0332.

MAY 30--NEW YORK ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE--An in-depth look at NYC's crisis in sewage, incineration, solid waste, health, housing, and getting organized to fight. All day, sliding scale donation requested -- nobody turned away. Register with Learning Alliance, (212)226-7171.

JUNE 5--IDENTITY POLITICS--Race, class and ethnicity in revolutionary struggle explored by Stuart Hall of London's Open University. 8:00PM at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. Call (212)941-0332.

JUNE 9--SCIENCE & ECOLOGY OF THE GREAT LAKES--An Environmental Protection Agency forum. 3:30PM at 26 Federal Plaza, Room 305. Call (212)264-1017.

JUNE 23--DHORUBA BIN WAHAD IN COURT--THIS IS THE BIG ONE!! JUDGE PETER McQUILLAN WILL DECIDE WHETHER DHORUBA WILL GO FREE OR GO BACK TO JAIL THAT DAY!! Help pack the court to show your support for former Black Panther Dhoruba who the state is trying to put back in jail after serving 19 years for a pig shooting frame-up. COME TO 100 CENTER STREET, 11TH FLOOR, PART 30, AT 9:00 AM. FOR INFO, CALL (718)624-0800.

MAKE MONEY SELLING THE SHADOW!! You keep 25 cents for each copy you sell. Homeless persons keep full cover price. Write the SHADOW or call (212)971-9611.

FUCK THE DEMOCRATS!! Preparations are now being made for converging on the Democratic National Convention to be held in New York City this summer. If you are interested in joining the effort, write or call Unconventional Action, 228 East 10th Street, Box 24, New York, N.Y. 10009, (212)465-2548. (Of course, we'd love to see independent action groups do their thing!!)

FOR PEOPLE WITHOUT PLUMBING: For $25/year, you can swim (and, of course, shower!) at any New York City pool. The Carmine Street Pool at Varick + Carmine Sts accepts new adult members Mon-Thurs, 5:30-8:00PM. Bring a lock for the locker, a photo, and a $25 money order (no cash or checks taken). For info, call (212)397-3107.

WOMEN: HAVE YOU BEEN SEXUALLY HARRASSED BY THE POLICE?--If so, please report it to the **Ad-Hoc Committee Against Sexual Harrassment By Police**, at 151 First Ave, #101, New York, N.Y. 10003.

ASSASSINATION RESEARCHERS: The new **Committee to Investigate Assassinations (CIA)** has been formed in New York City to collect and exchange data and research, investigate, interview witnesses, and more. If you would like to get involved, trade materials, please contact the CIA through the SHADOW (until we get our own address and phone number.) For a list of available assassination-related items in our archives, please send a self-addressed stamped envelope.

RADICAL WOMEN, an international socialist feminist organization, presents feminist events and discussions on a regular basis, and an anti-war coffee house on Friday nights, 7:00-10:00, for free or low cost. For info, write to Radical Women at: 32 Union Sq. East, NYC, 10003, or call (212)677-7002, or 491-5163.

RECYCLABLES NOW BEING COLLECTED--At the new recycling center in the lot at 211 East 7th Street, between Avenues B + C. Please separate plastics and metal.

HOUSING NOW! HOTLINE--For up to date news on housing events, legislation, and actions. Call (212)316-7544.

WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) meets Wednesdays at 224 West 4th St. at 6:30PM. For info, call (212)713-5966, or write P.O.Box 733, New York, N.Y. 10009.

TRANS-SPECIES UNLIMITED Animal rights group meets on the second Tuesday of each month at the Sacred Heart Church, 457 West 51st St. at 7:00PM.

ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power) meets Mondays at the Gay + Lesbian Center, 208 West 13th St. at 7:30-11:00PM.

ABC NO RIO COMMUNITY SPACE--Open to groups for performance, meetings, info center, etc. Write to at 156 Rivington St., New York, N.Y. 10002, or call (212)254-3697.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE--Activist talk radio show with host Bob Fass, dealing with issues that no one else does. On WBAI Radio, 99.5 FM, Fridays 1:30-3:30AM and Saturdays 11:00PM-1:00AM. Call (212)279-3400.

IF YOU KNOW OF ANY EVENTS OR HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO OUR READERS, PLEASE SEND ALL INFO TO THE SHADOW, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009, OR CALL US AT:(212)971-9611. WE ARE NOW PRINTING MONTHLY, SO THE DEADLINE IS THE 22ND DAY OF THE MONTH FOR LISTINGS FOR THE FOLLOWING MONTH. THE SOONER YOU LET US KNOW, THE BETTER!!

UNCONVENTIONAL ACTION

EMPOWER PEOPLE NOT POLITICIANS
JULY 13 - 17 NEW YORK CITY

FRUSTRATED BY A BULLSHIT ELECTION? TIRED OF A POLITICAL SPECTRUM WHICH RUNS FROM PHONEY LIBERAL TO GENUINE FASCIST?

TAKE IT TO THE STREETS!

Demonstrate at the Democratic National Convention in New York City, Juy 13-17, 1992

NO POLICE STATE!

UNCONVENTIONAL SMOKE-IN
BLOCKADE OPERATION RESCUE

for more information call: (212) 465-2548
or write to Unconventional Action
228 East 10th Street Box # 24, NYC 10003

CENTRAL PARK ENCAMPMENT/KITCHEN

for more information call (212) 465-2548
or write Unconventional Action
228 East 10th Street Box #24
New York, N.Y. 10003

SUBVERTISEMENTS

(20 cents per word, no minimum or maximum)

ARG CATALOG-ZINE. Politic to ensnare the mind. Connect with environmentalists, radicals, anarchists, and visionaries. Send a buck if you've got it to Soapbox Junction, Box 597996, Cicago, IL 60659.

COMING CONCENTRATION CAMPS REPORT $5.00. BRAIN IMPLANT & HOSPITAL DANGERS $6.00. HUGE EXPOSÉ REPORT CATALOG $1.00. BOX 2207, GARDEN VALLEY,ID 83522

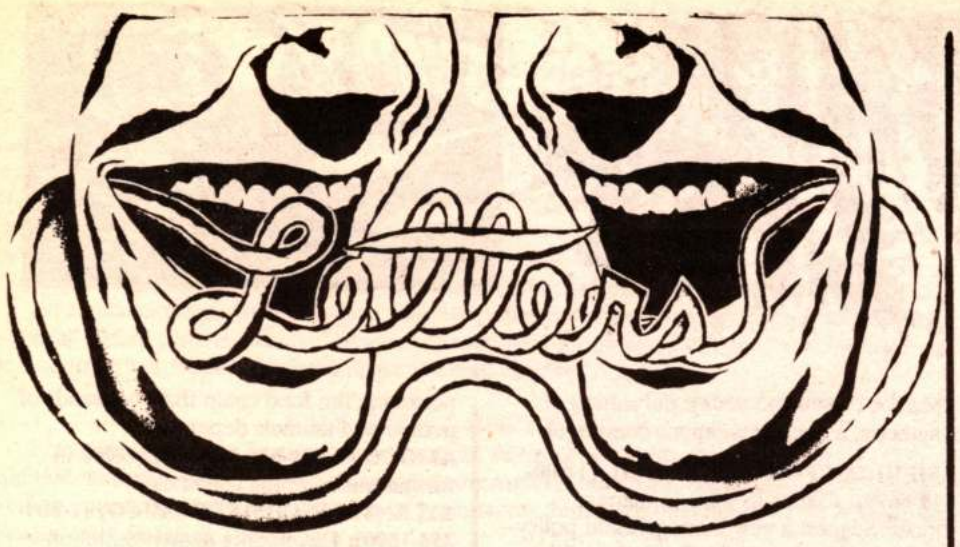
QUIET GENTLEMAN, descent Northern Irish, teetotaller, age sixty, ex-squatter with "RAGE-ON!", looking for shared living space on Lower East Side ever since 1950. Able to afford only $152.40 monthly without extras this year. Please contact R. Redding at through the SHADOW. Thank you!

FREE! "REVENGE OF THE SQUIRRELS" STICKER! Send postage stamp to: Occupant, P.O. Box 20157, Tompkins Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10009

WANTED--Performance spaces to hold benefits for local community groups. Can give part of door money as fee. Contact Chris Flash through the SHADOW.

WANTED--Any and all information, books, videos, tapes, etc, on assassination conspiracies involving JFK, RFK, M.L.King, and those connected (witnesses, co-conspirators, etc). Can trade something in our archives. Please contact Chris Flash through the SHADOW.

GET YOUR MESSAGE OUT TO THE RIGHT PEOPLE--RUN YOUR AD OR MESSAGE IN THE SHADOW--We'll print just about any ad!!



THE SHADOW, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

(Below is a letter we received in response to our article "WWP Violence Breaks Out At 'Peace For Cuba' Rally", that appeared in SHADOW #22.)

Cuba is under attack, standing virtually alone against the U.S. dominated Imperialist World Order. Only 90 miles away and the only independent territory in the Western hemisphere, the island nation has clearly been targetted with priority for destruction.

The SHADOW chimes in, echoing the counter-revolutionary crusade in the name of "human rights", attacking both Cuba and the January 25th Javits Center "Peace For Cuba" Conference, in a manner calculated to demoraliza any defense of Cuba's independence at all.

The SHADOW backhandedly legitimizes the Conference's sponsors by lumping them all together as "goons" from the "Stalin worshipping" Workers' World Party, thereby implying the Conference was simply to support or defend Cuba, which the SHADOW dismisses as "totalitarian."

The SHADOW covers up the main effect of the Conference, which is to place a cluster of groupings, coordinated under President Johnson's Vietnam war criminal Attorney General Ramsey Clark, at the head of antiwar protest management, with the mission of restricting potential militants to protest behind police barricades. In conjunction, the SHADOW discourages people from showing up at all to defend "totalitarians," under attack because they have "squatted" a nation!

The Conference organizers, unlike the SHADOW articles, do correctly call for an end of the U.S. blockade of Cuba. Since even the Soviet Union eventually succumbed to combined nuclear blackmale (sic) and economic blockade, the basic imperialist strategy is to create a crisis by economically starving out the island's population while escalating terrorist attacks, hoping that resulting massive dissention would generate a Cuban surrender party, as represented in Nicaragua by the Violeta Chamorro regime. The SHADOW induces its readers to identify with the dissention hoped for by the imperialists--the political wedge thrust at socialist Cuba's heart.

In its attack on the Conference, the SHADOW takes advantage of two WBAI journalists being ejected from the Conference, after they sought to turn the Conference into a Cuba-bashing "human rights" trial.

The SHADOW implies that labor camps in which Cuban gays were briefly interned, and which have not existed for 25 years, are still part of the Cuban reality. It goes on to conflate those now fictitious camps with quarantine centers for AIDS-virus positive Cubans.

It suppresses the fact that not Cuba, but the U.S. government created the AIDS virus as germ warfare, and unleashed the AIDS epidemic on three continents, deliberately spreading AIDS among accessible targeted populations. The Cuban gay population is not AIDS-infected. The Cuban AIDS victims are largely returned soldiers from Africa, where AIDS is spread through United Nations' World Health Organization and U.S. Agency for International Development clinics.

While U.S. government policy is to spread AIDS, the Cuban AIDS quarantine is a so far successful effort to protect the Cuban masses from a disease they do not need, unlike in the U.S., where a quarantine policy would mean the creation of death camps for targeted populations.

Finally, without condoning antigay discrimination that undeniably exists in Cuba, as it does in every country, perspective can be enriched by comparing it to other Latin American countries, where police routinely round up, imprison, beat, often to the point of death, and otherwise humiliate gays as their standard form of entertainment--a reality which used to exist in Batista Cuba.

The Peace For Cuba Conference was faced with numerous death threats from a milieu of thousands of counter-revolutionary scabs, long known for their history of armed terrorism, so extreme that even their CIA mentors cannot guarantee control over them. Even if the Conference organizers were ideal as revolutionaries, they would have to maintain strong security against bomb threats, and against the multitude of anticommunist gringos who would divert the Conference from a defense of Cuba into a confused abandonment of it.

The Cuban masses insist on a ruthless defense, both against the terrorist gusanos and, as well, their apologists among the moderate left and right, who would compromise that ruthlessness, opening the door to their organizing process in the name of "human rights"--similar to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) defense of KKK-Nazis, Oliver North, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Given these circumstances, the choice is between a) defending the revolution, inevitably engendering some abuses and excesses, or b) inviting total, bloody counterrevolution. Revolutionaries have a duty for unconditional defense of the gains of the oppressed, from squats to national independence to proletarian property transformation. Contrary to SHADOW articles, the defenders of socialist Cuba stand for self determination, while the elitists who neutrally identify as both "insulted by the left" and "rejected by the right" are helping the U.S. imperialist aims to liquidate the option for multiracial Cuban population to run their own country.

Joel Meyers, NYC

For the record, while the SHADOW opposes any foreign intervention in Cuba's affairs, we also oppose <u>any</u> form of government--one tyrant is no better than another!! It's funny how many non-Cubans (like the writer of this letter) who have <u>never</u> been to Cuba think they know more about Cuba than Cubans (like the writer of the article)!! The SHADOW mainly seeks to expose groups like the Workers' World Party (WWP) which operates under several phony fronts, using legitimate issues and protests to co-opt, re-channel and control sincere activists and movement people for their own purposes, and we'll continue to do so.
Chris Flash, Editor

Dear SHADOW,
I think school has damaged my brain. I can't concentrate on more important things. However, I'm taking a screen writing class, and I've loosely based a story here on the Tompkins Square story. I might call it "Life without money, cops or donut shops." I heard about a radio station in Gulfport, Mississippi that's been doing a morning spot called "Cop, No Cop", where a caller has to guess whether or not there will be a cop present when the station calls a waffle house or donut shop.
Tim Maddog, New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear SHADOW,
To demonstrate a "kinder gentler nation", president Bush should lead a Rodney King protest march through Washington and then invite the marchers in to break all the windows of the White House and set it on fire in celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus.
Sidney Simon, NYC

Dear Editor,
Queer Quisling Antonio Pagan: Still up to his old tricks.
On Friday evening, April 3, 1992, late night patrons of The Bar, East Fourth Street and Second Avenue, saw a once familiar customer, Antonio Pagan, the New York City Councilman, was sprawled on the bench by the pool table rubbing his crotch. A while later, when our informant, who has known Pagan for years and is 100% reliable, went into the toilet, he saw the Councilman on his knees having sex. Running out of the bathroom, the involuntary voyeur cried "A camera! Doesn't anybody have a camera?" People say Antonio Pagan was too busy cruising the toilets to pass his bar examination. How true.
LES Toilet Watcher
(In a corrupt society, gossip is justice)

Is this the same Antonio Pagan who is trying to prevent housing and health care for AIDS victims after seeking the Gay vote? Well, after checking with people at The Bar, we found this story to be true, and <u>then some</u>. The next time someone tells Pagan to "Eat Shit", he could say he's done it before!!
Chris Flash, Editor

<u>PRISONER MAIL:</u>

Dear People,
Hi. Hope things are decent with you. Things are not so here. My co-defendant Tom Manning was spirited out of here 3 days ago (4/21) and has not been heard from since.
R.W, Trenton, N.J.

If anyone knows the whereabouts of Tom Manning, please let us know. Better yet, we'd like to hear from Tom himself.
Chris Flash, Editor

STUDENT ACTIVIST HARASSED BY FEDERAL AGENTS!!

By Chris Flash

On Friday, May 8th, student activist Brian Coan was subpoenaed to appear before a Federal Grand Jury on what they claim to be a threat on the life of President Bush. Coan, a student at Williams College in Massachusetts, was visited by Secret Service agents on May 7th. The agents attempted to interview Coan while he was jogging practice, telling him that they were conducting an investigation of him. Coan refused, and on May 8th, the agents appeared at his dorm where they served him with a federal warrant to appear before a Federal Grand Jury in Springfield on May 28th.

Coan has been involved in local and campus politics while at Williams, he has been involved with the campus-based anarchist and anti-imperialist group Autonome Forum, with the national anarchist newspaper Love And Rage, and with the squatting movement on New York's Lower East Side.

Coan has no idea why he is being accused of threatening the President. The only thing he can think of is a recent student march in response to the acquittal of the four white Los Angeles cops in the Rodney King beating case. On May 4th, nearly 600 Williams students marched 23 miles to Pittsfield, where they held a peaceful demo at the Federal Building. Coan, one of several speakers, gave an angry speech, but never mentioned Bush.

There is a long history of using Federal Grand Juries against activists. Under Grand Jury rules, those subpoenaed are not allowed legal representation during the hearing, the press is barred from the proceedings, and once on the stand, those testifying can be legally compelled to respond to questions on any subject, regardless of its relevance to the charges at hand, or face imprisonment for contempt.

Already, the investigation has been characterized by legal and procedural improprieties. When the subpoena was delivered, the local cop who accompanied the Secret Service, Officer Vincent Zoito, opened the door to Coan's room before Coan could answer the knock. Also, the Secret Service apparently obtained a subpoena for Coan's computer files and copied all the files he had stored on the campus mainframe network.

Coan is being represented by activist attorney Stanley Cohen. Cohen told the SHADOW that Coan was singled out solely due to his refusal to submit to an "informal discussion" with federal agents. Coan has told the SHADOW that the Grand Jury is requesting samples of his handwriting, his photograph and fingerprints. He says he will answer the subpoena, but that he will refuse to testify, give evidence or co-operate with the Grand Jury in any way.

Please stay tuned to the SHADOW for more details as this case progresses. (For more information on Grand Juries, call the Center for Constitutional Rights at (212)614-6464. For more information on the case, you can call Brian Coan at (413)597-2627, or Stanley Cohen at (212)979-7572).

FBI wants phonetap system installed

BY DEREK BRACEY

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is pushing for a law that would require phone companies to re-engineer their new phone networks to allow wiretapping.

The FBI says its agents are having increasing difficulty listening to phone conversations because of new communications advances. Most notable are digital technologies in which sounds are changed into computer language, and bundled onto a line with other calls, then separated out and turned back into sound near the destination.

Another FBI complaint is about fiber optics in which sounds are turned into pulses of light and sent through glass strands. The U.S. government has delayed sales of fiber-optic technology to the Soviet Union because of the great difficulty in tapping it.

The FBI proposed a law March 6 that would require phone companies to incorporate technology that would make their systems compatible with wiretapping. It also proposed allowing the Federal Communications Commission to let phone companies pass the costs of this on to consumers.

Many phone companies are protesting, saying that the costs would be excessive. They note that with 150 million phone lines, and a cost of $1 billion for setting up new tapping methods, this would come to $6.60 per consumer. "We don't feel our ratepayers should pay that money," said Bill McCloskey, a spokesman for BellSouth Corp.

"Without an ultimate solution, terrorists, violent criminals, kidnappers, drug cartels, and other criminal organizations will be able to carry out their illegal activities using the telecommunications system without detection," FBI director William Sessions said. "This proposal is critical to the safety of the American people and to law enforcement officers."

But Congressman Edward Markey, who chairs the House subcommittee handling the FBI proposal, said the plan has troubling overtones of "Big Brother" about it.

RETURN OF THE SHADOW

(Special thanks to the Green Panthers and Ship Of Fools)

PHONE ZAP TIP: Most large companies (Partnership for a Drug-Free America supporters and enemy enterprises) have at least one toll-free number for their customers to contact them. Zapping these numbers from pay phones will cost them money both on their 800 service charges and in loss of business. Should you choose, this also gives you an opportunity to let these irresponsible companies know what you think of their products and earth raping policies. When strategic enemy phone numbers are discovered, activists should make it a hard and fast rule to spread the information throughout the movement. This is one of our side's best non-violent ways to direct engage those that war on us.

DRUG WAR TYRANTS:

H.ROSS PEROT FOR PRESIDENT (1-800-285-8683): This asshole, presenting himself as an independent candidate against Bush, advocates the same things as Bush--no bail, declaring civil war, POW camps for drug dealers, suspending constitutional rights, etc.
D.A.R.E. INFO LINE (1-800-TALK-KFC): Funded by Kentucky Fried Chicken, their recording says their goal is to establish a DARE program in every school starting with the first grade; Also has info on how to tell if someone you know is on drugs.
BECTON DICKINSON (1-800-631-1122): Police drug test kit manufacturers; Financial supporter of the Partnership For A Drug-Free America.
NATIONAL CITIZENS CRIME PREVENTION CAMPAIGN (1-800-WE PREVENT): McGruff, the gestapo dog; Pro "War On Drugs," neighborhood snitch program development, bullshit propoganda about drugs.
DIVERSI FLEET (1-800-325-8645): Police car fleet sales)
DEF-TEC (1-800-733-3832): Provides high tech police training in sniping, machine guns, concussion grenades, and raids.
CANINE COLLEGE (1-800-433-1714): Drug dog training.
INMATE PHONE SYSTEMS (1-800-736-3533): Bugged phones for jails and prisons.
MATTMAN COMPANY (1-800-245-2865): Manufactures surveillance vans, mobile command posts, SWAT vehicles.
LASER LABS (1-800-452-2344): Manufactures hand held device that measures amount of light passing through your car window. Federal law requires 70% of light to pass through. Company spokesmen say there is "a correlation between dark windows and drug users." Their ad says: "Probable cause in the palm of your hand. More stops! More drug seizures!"
PARTNERSHIP FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA (1-800-624-0100): The voice of drug hysteria in the U.S, specializing in "Reefer Madness" scares and misinformation campaigns, yet receives funding from coalition of alcohol and tobacco companies (Phillip Morris, makers of Marlboro cigarettes and Miller Beer, among others) and the advertising agencies that promote that shit!!
PDR I.D. (1-800-232-7379): The Visual Drug Identification System. A pocket drug ID system for cops. Ad says: "provides on the spot identification of illegal drug possession."
UNISYS (1-800-448-1424, ext.175): Manufactures Unisys Drug Enforcement Systems which produce leads by gathering and cross-referencing info on vehicles, people, places, property, and events, from other cases in different parts of the country over protracted periods of time.
U.S.POSTAL SERVICE DRUG SNITCH LINE (1-800-654-8896)
U.S.CUSTOMS SERVICE DRUG SNITCH LINE (1-800-BE ALERT)

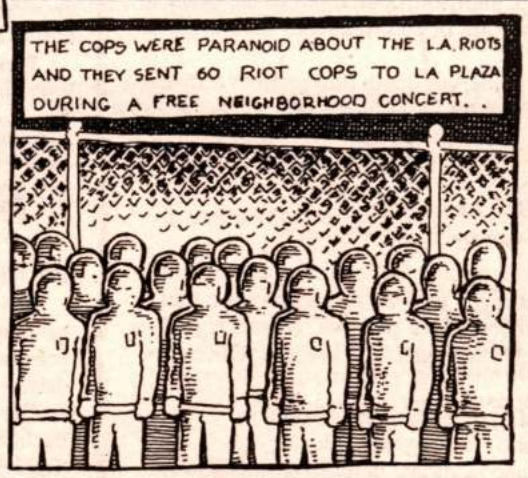
CORPORATE SLIME:

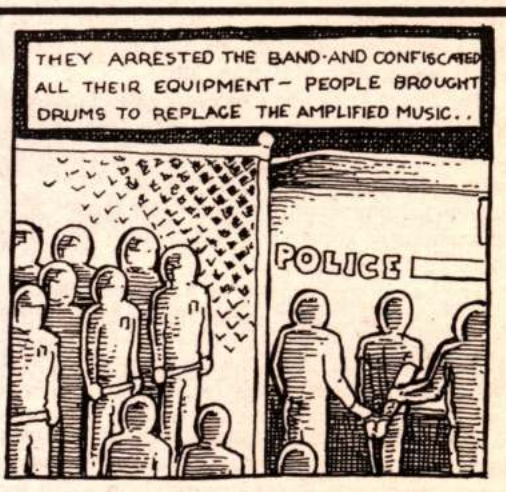
GENERAL ELECTRIC (1-800-626-2000): Third largest nuclear contractor in U.S, set record for Superfund toxic waste sites (at least 47 in 1989), owns and controls NBC television network.
ATT (1-800-228-9290): Tenth largest nuclear contractor in U.S. Corporate executive Bert Stenson's number is (908)221-2068--he can be called collect.
ITT (1-800-275-0100/0200): Has $227 million in nuclear contracts.
GENERAL MOTORS (1-800-762-4900): Nuclear weapons contractor, nazi collaborators during WWII.
AMANA (1-800-843-0304): Subsidiary of Raytheon, a nuclear weapons contractor.
AMERICAN FOREST COUNCIL (1-800-648-6699): Claims to want to manage forests. Suggest a new managerment policy--plant hemp and yield 4.1 times the amount of wood pulp compared to forest land useage.
US DEP'T OF AGRICULTURE (1-800-638-2209): Released figures estimating that 10,000 acres of hemp will yield as much paper as 40,000 acres of forest land, request they adopt a sane forest management policy.
SHELL (1-800-331-3703): Their parent company, Royal Dutch uses slave labor and actively supports the apartheid regime in South Africa.
UNIROYAL (1-800-234-3572): Nuclear weapons contractor. Corporate executive Bob Petrash's number is (203)573-3441--he can also be called collect.
HEWLETT-PACKARD (1-800-752-0900): Nuclear weapons contractor.
CALORIC (1-800-637-6688): Subsidiary of Raytheon.
GTE (1-800-982-6347): Nuclear contractor.
FISK (1-800-243-3572): Subsidiary of Uniroyal.
US ARMY (1-800-872-2769): Lowly paid hired killers, offering "opportunities" as the last resort to young unemployed people.
SCOTT PAPER (1-800-835-7268): Deforestation of tropical rain forests in Malaysia.
LOUISIANA PACIFIC LUMBER (1-800-358-9042): Plundering old growth forests.
WEYERHAUSER (1-800-438-4423): Clearcutting private land, destruction of tropical rain forests, dioxin pollution, etc.

DOW CHEMICALS (1-800-258-2436): Also makes styrofoam; made Agent Orange forest defoliator used in Vietnam, resulting in deaths of Vietnamese and US troops and birth defects in their children, also used to defoliate national forests in US.
CONOCO (1-800-255-9556): Dupont subsidiary; trying to drill for oil in the Ecquadorian Amazon rain forest.

TEXACO (1-800-552-7827): Released an estimated 17 million gallons of oil into the fragile Ecquadorian Amazon region, poisoning the food chain that thousands of people and animals depend on.
AMOCO (1-800-621-8889): Involved in various earth raping activities.
ATLANTIC RICHFIELD (ARCO) (1-800-354-1500): Developing nearly ½ million acres of untouched rain forest for oil production.
EXXON (1-800-344-4355): Released about 11 million gallons of oil into the bay in Valdez, Alaska, followed by the worst clean up in history, which Exxon delayed and wrote off as a federal tax deduction, suffering minimal penalties. Now planning with TEXACO to invade the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland.
DUPONT (1-800-441-7515): Nazi collaborators during WWII, major toxic chemical polluter, nuclear weapons contractor.
COORS (1-800-642-6116): Racist right wingers, violating employees' rights, forcing urine and lie detector tests. Joseph Coors founded the right wing lobbying Heritage Foundation, that fights social programs and advocates censorship.
EASTMAN KODAK (1-800-242-2424): Listed as one of the top 15 corporate polluters in 1991.
PROCTER & GAMBLE (1-800-543-1745): Producers Folger's coffee, whose beans used to come from psycho dictator Idi Amin's Uganda, but now come from the right wing dictarship of El Salvador.
MITSUBISHI (1-800-473-5422): Destroying tropical rain forests.
PHILLIP MORRIS (1-800-932-7800): Makers of killer cigarettes and beer, largest supporter of civil liberties foe Senator Jesse Helms, contributes to Partnership For Drug-Free America.
MOBIL OIL (1-800-225-9547): Major producer of ozone depleting styrofoam which never biodegrades and creates poisonous gas when burned.
CHEVRON (1-800-243-8766): U.S. manufacturers of paraquat, used to poison marijuana fields, resulting in smoker deaths.

(Some of these numbers can only be called from certain areas. Try the operator at (1-800-555-1212) for more listings and information. Hell, it's a FREE CALL!!)




THEY ARRESTED THE BAND AND CONFISCATED ALL THEIR EQUIPMENT - PEOPLE BROUGHT DRUMS TO REPLACE THE AMPLIFIED MUSIC. .
POLICE

PEROT'S NIXON CONNECTION

(Continued From Page 9)

Shield/Blue Cross Director and Republic National Bank of Dallas Chairman of the Board James Aston. According to the 1971 **Ramparts Magazine** article, "Aston was so eager to lend Perot the money to take over" Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross's Medicare data processing as a subcontractor "that he pressured other" Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross executives "to sign a formal contract with Perot which could be used as collateral for the bank." In exchange for its loan to Perot, Aston's Republic National Bank of Dallas received newly valuable E.D.S. stock, in what was now a super-profitable company.

As an additional reward for his mutually lucrative business deal with Republic National Bank of Dallas Chairman and Texas Blue Shield/Blue Cross Director Aston, Perot was named to be a director of Aston's Republic National Bank of Dallas.

E.D.S.'S POST-1966 GROWTH

Following this lucrative subcontracting deal, Perot's E.D.S. was able to secure additional lucrative subcontracts to process government-funded Medicare and other social welfare program-related billing claims in other states during the next 5 years. As **Ramparts Magazine** reported in 1971:

> " ... The prime source of Perot's revenues are state and federal welfare funds and the Medicare program. Through a special relationship with Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans, Perot has won subcontracts to administer Medicare and Medicaid in 11 states, including 4 out of 5 of the biggest revenue producers. Perot's charges just for electronic data processing now represent the second largest item on the Medicare administrative (Part B) budget. So lucrative are these contracts that in the last 2 years E.D.S.'s profits have averaged nearly 40 percent!"

According to the **Ramparts Magazine** article, Perot's privately-owned E.D.S. secured its lucrative publicly-funded data processing subcontracts "by sweetheart relationships with the state welfare departments, Social Security Administration, and Blue Shield ..."

Although under the terms of the Medicare and Medicaid programs, the various state Blue Shield/Blue Cross organizations which served as "fiscal intermediaries" for the Social Security Administration -- in processing hospitals' and doctors' claims for payment, and in mailing out federal and state checks as payments -- were forbidden to make a profit from their government contracts, the recipients of Blue Shield/Blue Cross **subcontracts** (like Perot's E.D.S.) were allowed to make huge profits under the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Among the states, besides Texas, in which Perot's E.D.S. secured lucrative Blue Shield/Blue Cross subcontracts were Pennsylvania, Indiana, New York and California.

PEROT"S CALIFORNIA BLUE SHIELD/BLUE CROSS CONNECTION

In September 1969, Perot signed a subcontract with California Blue Shield/Blue Cross which "turned over to E.D.S. the data processing for Medicare and Medicaid as well as Blue Shield's standard business," according to **Ramparts Magazine**. By 1971, nearly 33% of all E.D.S. revenues were a result of Perot's deal with California Blue Shield/Blue Cross. E.D.S.'s lucrative 1969 subcontract with California Blue Shield/Blue Cross was approved by California Governor Reagan's Department of Health Care Services Chief, Carel Mulder. A few months after approving E.D.S.'s lucrative subcontract with California Blue Shield/Blue Cross, Mulder was hired by Perot's E.D.S. to be a "consultant," according to **Ramparts Magazine**.

In exchange for eliminating job opportunities at California Blue Shield/Blue Cross by replacing California Blue Shield/Blue Cross workers with E.D.S. computers, Perot's E.D.S. was receiving about 42% of all the administrative costs of California's taxpayer-funded Medi-Cal/Medicaid program by 1971. Although it only cost Perot's E.D.S. 28 cents per claim to process California Blue Shield/Blue Cross's Medi-Cal/Medicaid business, E.D.S. was receiving 70 cents per claim in government money -- enabling it to make a 150% super-profit on each California claim it processed.

After the terms of the 1969 E.D.S.-California Blue Shield/Blue Cross subcontract began to be implemented, the following happened at California Blue Shield/Blue Cross's data processing center, according to **Ramparts Magazine**:

> "An announcement came over the public address system to report to the company cafeteria. Higher salaried employees were grouped on one side of the room; lower salaried ones on othe other ... 'We were told,' recalled a former woman employee, 'that E.D.S. had taken over and that we were all working for them. The dress code was explained. No facial hair, beards, mustaches, they all had to go. If you didn't go along, there was no place for you ... Anyone who even discussed salaries got fired. It was just like a concentration camp. They ruled by fear.'"

RACISM AT PEROT'S E.D.S.

In addition to discriminating against white people with beards and mustaches, white long-haired men, white hippies, white freaks, white punks and any other white folks who didn't wish to dress like straight, right-wing Americans, Perot's E.D.S. also discriminated against African-Americans when it implemented its 1969 subcontract at the California Blue Shield/Blue Cross corporate offices. As **Ramparts Magazine** noted in its 1971 article:

> "Probably the workers most bitter about the E.D.S. takeover were ... blacks who worked in the operations department. They charge E.D.S. with carrying out a systematic reduction of black employees. Since E.D.S. took over, more than half the blacks in the department have been fired. The only black production supervisor has been demoted to a computer operator. And the only black woman computer operator was first demoted to a clerical position then fired."

THE GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATION OF PEROT'S E.D.S.

Given the speed with which E.D.S. was able to translate publicly-funded government social welfare subcontracts into superprofits for Perot's private, family-owned company, it's not surprising that E.D.S. was soon under government investigation. By 1971, **Ramparts Magazine** reported that "In California two Assembly Committees are investigating the legality and the desirability of the state's subcontract relationship with E.D.S." and "The House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee" was "carrying on an investigation of E.D.S.'s operations in the 11 states in which the company has Medicare or Medicaid contracts" in "secret executive session."

Perot's Nixon connection and his friendship with the U.S. Attorney General -- John Mitchell -- who had to resign in disgrace and was found guilty of Watergate cover-up charges on January 1, 1975, however, apparently helped to stymie the 1971 Congressional investigation into Perot's E.D.S. A member of the Congressional subcommittee which investigated Perot's E.D.S. contracts in 1971, John Buchanan, told the **New York Times** in 1992 that during the Nixon administration,"The highest level of bureaucracy stonewalled us and defended both Perot and their own actions in this matter." The **Times** also finally noted in its May 8, 1992 issue that documents in the National Archives "indicate that Mr. Perot sought and received" Nixon White House "intervention in a dispute he was having over subcontracts his company, Electronic Data Systems, had won to process Medicaid claims." A former E.D.S. official, Mulledge Hart 3rd, also told the Associated Press that Perot's Nixon White House ties allowed E.D.S. to use Nixon's White House as a "court of last resort" in defense of Perot's special interests.

PEROT'S WALL STREET CONNECTION

After turning his private E.D.S. family business into a super-profitable concern, Perot suddenly became a billionnaire a few months after his E.D.S. began to sell stock on Wall Street for the first time, in September of 1968. A few years later, Perot bought the third-biggest brokerage firm in the U.S., DuPont, Glore, Forgan Inc. In purchasing DuPont, Glore, Forgan Inc., Perot again received favored treatment from the Nixon Administration. According to **Ramparts Magazine**'s 1971 exposé:

> "Federal Reserve Bank Chairman Arthur Burns did Perot a special favor. He suspended the Federal Reserve Bank's loan collateral requirements. Instead of having to put up over $150 million in E.D.S. stock to back up the $50 million cash loan he'd taken down from the bank, Perot was permitted to put up **only half** that amount."

Without U.S. taxpayer funding of any subcontracts dished out to DuPont, Glore, Forgan Inc., however, Perot proved unable to develop his newly-acquired company into a profitable enterprise. By 1974, he no longer owned his Wall Street brokerage firm because it had turned out to be a big moneyloser.

PEROT'S PRE-1985 WEALTH

As a result of his 1960s and 1970s E.D.S./Blue Shield/Blue Cross/Republic National Bank of Dallas and Wall Street connections -- and his U.S. government funding and Nixon Connection -- Perot's personal fortune consisted of "about $400 million of investments and 46% of E.D.S. stock" in 1984, according to an April 1986 **New York Times** article. In addition to receiving annual dividends on his 46% share of E.D.S.'s stock, Perot also authorized his E.D.S. to pay him a personal salary of $68,000 per year between 1968 and 1984. In 1984, **Forbes** magazine ranked Perot as the 8th richest person in the United States.

Nixon Played Part In '71 Perot Deal

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Washington — The Nixon administration believed Ross Perot's purchase of a failing investment firm in 1971 helped "prevent a collapse on Wall Street" but didn't want it known that the White House encouraged and assisted the deal, according to 20-year-old documents.

The White House memos indicate the administration's "encouragement was substantial" but that aides later decided not to send Perot a thank-you letter for fear of linking then-President Richard Nixon to the purchase.

"The president should not now indicate this commercial deal on his part was done primarily in behalf of the national interest . . . Should the deal go bad the existence of such a letter might be embarrassing," an April, 1971, memo said.

But a handwritten memo on White House stationery acknowledged Perot's "moving in was an important step in helping prevent a collapse on Wall Street."

Perot, who eventually invested $60 million in DuPont Glore Forgan before it ended in liquidation, said he regrets the purchase today and would not have done it if Nixon hadn't asked.

"I told them I cannot afford to do this, and put me at the bottom of the list," Perot, who is mounting an independent campaign for the presidency, said yesterday. "A couple of weeks later, they called back and said, 'Perot, you're back at the top of the list.' "

Perot's purchase was well publicized because it became one of the few financial disasters of the self-made billionaire. But the degree of the Nixon administration's involvement was not previously known.

A review of Nixon-era documents at the National Archives documented substantial ties between Perot and Nixon, including instances in which the White House intervened with federal agencies on Perot's behalf and provided VIP treatment for his family.

Those memos indicate the White House worked behind the scenes to help Perot close the duPont deal, providing assistance with the New York Stock Exchange and a special "tax arrangement," one memo said.

Perot said the stock exchange help involved his request to change the rules prohibiting investment in more than one firm. The tax matter involved getting the IRS to clarify whether he could deduct from his federal taxes the interest from his debts in the purchase.

Mort Meyerson, the former chairman of duPont, said Perot also wanted a contract to study the New York Stock Exchange — which is mentioned in one White House memo — but that arrangement never materialized.

Recollections differ as to who initiated Perot's involvement.

Peter Flanigan, the White House aide assigned to the deal, said Perot already was interested in buying the firm before the White House got involved.

But Perot insists he had no intention of buying it until he received numerous calls from White House aides who told him "the stock market will close if you don't buy this firm."

A January, 1972, memo, prepared for then-Nixon Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman, indicates the administration wanted the purchase to be viewed as a business arrangement that could benefit Perot.

"Perot made the business decision to invest and has overstated the administration's degree of obligation," it said.

But documents dating to around the time the firm was bought suggest Nixon did in fact ask Flanigan to lobby Perot.

Perot ultimately lost heavily in the investment and ended up liquidating the firm.

PEROT'S GENERAL MOTORS CONNECTION

In October 1984, however, the "anti-Establishment" Perot again increased his personal wealth by selling the 46% of E.D.S. stock which he owned to General Motors for $1 billion in cash and $1.5 billion worth of GM Class E stock. As a result of this deal with GM, Perot became GM's biggest individual stockholder and he was named to the U.S. Establishment's General Motors board of directors.

PEROT'S 1986 PERSONAL WEALTH

By 1986, Perot -- like Howard Hughes on November 22, 1963 -- was the 2nd richest person in the United States. The **New York Times** now estimated his personal fortune to be $2 billion, consisting of $1.6 billion worth of investments and 11.3 million shares of General Motors Class E stock. Besides his special interest in General Motors, in 1986 Perot had invested his fortune in "gas and oil exploration, real estate, fixed-income securities and some venture capital projects," according to the December 2, 1986 issue of the **New York Times**. Perot's 27-year-old son, Ross Perot, Jr., and his 25-year-old daughter, Nancy Perot, were handling these investments for their father.

PEROT'S PEROT SYSTEMS CORPORATION

In the late 1980's, after Perot found himself unable to dictate GM's organizational policy at its corporate board meetings despite being its largest individual shareholder, he accepted a $700 million settlement from the other General Motors directors to let them run GM without his interference and to relinquish his General Motors directorship. Perot then set up his Perot Systems Corporation which attempts to compete with E.D.S. (now a subsidiary of General Motors) for the lucrative U.S. taxpayer-funded Blue Shield/Blue Cross business, as well as for U.S. Post Office contracts.

PEROT'S OLIVER NORTH/CONTRAGATE CONNECTION

Although nobody ever elected Perot to determine U.S. foreign policy, in 1986, according to **Newsweek** magazine's April 27, 1992 issue, Perot "bankrolled a secret attempt

See PEROT'S NIXON CONNECTION On Page 15

FILM REVIEW

THUNDERHEART AND INCIDENT AT OGLALA

By Bill Weinberg

Life and art seemed to collide into a single ball of confusion in Oliver Stone's JFK. That merging of fact and fiction which is called "Hollywood History" invariably makes real historians squirm. However well-intentioned the producer, a major Hollywood release must conform to the dictates of what's going to move tickets at the box office. Tugging with sufficient pressure at the heart-strings (and purse-strings) of the movie-going public may mean playing a little loose with the facts. But Stone added to the inevitable confusion by having Jim Garrison (played in the film by Kevin Costner) portray his own real-life nemesis, Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Director Michael Apted's Thunderheart serves up a similarly gripping-but-garbled treatment of the violent intrigues on the Pine Ridge Lakota ("Sioux") reservation in the South Dakota of the 1970s. Thunderheart deviates farther from actual history than Stone's JFK. But Apted has found a refreshingly straightforward way out of this dilemma. Simultaneous with the release of the fictional Thunderheart, Apted has released Incident At Oglala, a documentary dealing with the events at Pine Ridge -- and specifically with the case of imprisoned Indian activist Leonard Peltier. The documentary is entirely honest about its own biases, and provides a painstakingly factual look at some of the very events which are fictionalized in Thunderheart. Narrator-producer Robert Redford provides the celebrity hook, but Apted gives the people involved in the case ample time to speak for themselves -- both the Indian activists and the FBI and government prosecutors. The latter are given precisely enough rope to hang themselves with. One of the most powerful speakers among the Indian activists interviewed in Incident At Oglala is John Trudell -- who actually portrays a character based on his own comrade Peltier in Thunderheart. In the process, he steals the show.

Trudell's own real-life story actually outdoes much fiction. A founder of the militant American Indian Movement (AIM) and a veteran of such early actions as the 1970 occupation of the abandoned Alcatraz prison island off San Francisco, Trudell would be elected national leader of AIM in the late 1970s, just when the violence at Pine Ridge was at its height. In 1979, one day after Trudell burned a U.S. flag at a Washington, DC march he was leading, a midnight arsonist attacked the home of his wife, mother-in-law and three children at the Duck Valley Shoshone reservation in Nevada. All were killed in the ensuing blaze -- a part of the wave of violence which led to the decline of AIM. After a period of introspection, Trudell emerged as a highly political poet. Joining up with Jesse Ed Davis, a native American guitarist and former Beatles sessionist, Trudell formed the Graffiti Band, merging his shamanic/activist poetry with a powerful blues-rock backbeat -- only to have Jesse Ed Davis die of a heroin overdose just as the band was taking off. Talk about paying your dues!

Thunderheart gets the basic politics underlying the Pine Ridge situation right. A number of incidents of racial violence by local rednecks and police, as well as gruelling poverty on the local reservations, prompted AIM's 1973 occupation of a trading post at Wounded Knee, site of the 1890 massacre of over 300 Lakota men, women and children by the U.S. Cavalry. South Dakota Assistant Attorney General Bill Janklow and President Richard M. Nixon's federal authorities imposed a state of martial law, sending in the FBI and marshalls backed up with armored personnel carriers. In the aftermath of the standoff, Janklow was elected Attorney General, and later Governor, and launched the campaign to crush AIM in league with the corrupt and nepotistic "tribal government" recognized by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA "tribal government" of the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux was led by Dickie Wilson, who organized gangs of heavily-armed thugs known as GOONS (for Guardians Of the Oglala Nation) to terorize AIM sympathizers into silence and submission. While AIM's base of support was among the Lakota "traditionals", dedicated to keeping their indigenous culture alive, Wilson and the GOONS were working closely with outside interests -- most notably, the FBI. Fueling the spiral of violence were the high stakes -- uranium had been discovered in the Black Hills, a traditional Lakota sacred site just off the reservation. The Black Hills are Lakota land under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty --but whether Union Carbide and their ilk would be able to exploit and poison the Black Hills as they had sacred Hopi and Navajo lands in the Four Corners region would depend on whether the traditionals and AIM militants or Wilson and his pals gained the upper hand in the struggle at Pine Ridege. This violence climaxed in a 1975 firefight between AIM supporters and the FBI -- in which one Indian and two FBI men were killed. While nobody was ever brought to trial for the death of the Indian, AIM militant Leonard Peltier was convicted in the deaths of the federal agents, and he remains in Leavenworth federal prison today. However, the evidence that Peltier was framed is convincing, growing -- and laboriously detailed in Incident At Oglala.

Thunderheart renames AIM as "ARM" (for Aboriginal Rights Movement), but keeps the GOONS as GOONS. Dickie Wilson is here, renamed Jackie Milton and played by Fred Ward. John Trudell plays an AIM militant on the run, framed by Wilson/Milton and corrupt FBI officials for a murder on the reservation. Trudell's character, Jimmy Looks Twice, could be Leonard Peltier, or he could be Jimmy Eagle, the man the FBI agents were ostensibly searching for when the firefight broke out. Val Kilmer, best noted for his portrayal of rock star Jim Morrison in Oliver Stone's The Doors, plays a naive young FBI agent who is brought onto the reservation because he is one-quarter Lakota -- an FBI public relations move which backfires as the young man (predictably) rediscovers his heritage and throws his lot in with the traditionals, exposes FBI corruption and generally saves the day. Romantic interest is provided by Kilmer's flirtation with Sheila Tousey, who plays a composite character based on the founders of Women of All Red Nations (WARN), AIM's sister organization, which discovered that test drilling for uranium outside Pine Ridge was leading to contamination of the reservation's waters.

The fact that Val Kilmer plays the lead role, but that Trudell, who spends comparatively little time on screen, manages to steal the show, speaks volumes about what is real in Thunderheart and what isn't. Kilmer plays the obligatory white hero for the mainstream audiences to root for, conditioned, as they are, to do so. But Kilmer's lines seem glib and contrived -- especially towards the end, when he turns on his agency superiors. Given the actual history of the FBI on Pine Ridge, it is exceedingly frustrating to see a fictional FBI agent proclaiming "This land is not for sale!" at the movie's climax. In reality, the one FBI agent at Pine Ridge who really was one-quarter Indian, one Douglass Durham, actually served as a government mole in the Wounded Knee trials, and testified before Senate hearings that AIM was a "terrorist" organization. Thunderheart also downplays the degree of cooperation between the GOONS and federal authorities.

When Trudell speaks, in contrast, he is not acting so much as reliving real events in his own past, and his words convey a power that far outshines Kilmer's performance. He is equally powerful in Incident At Oglala. Although clearly trying for JFK-type drama in setting up simulations of various accounts of the shootout, Incident At Oglala often borders on getting mired in the minutia of forensics and ballistics. But Trudell's passages continually inject insight and humanity into the documentary, perhaps even more so than the passages featuring Peltier himself. Did Apted think it would be too much of a risk to give Trudell the lead role in Thunderheart, and make the central character an AIM activist rather than an FBI agent?

Thunderheart is essentially a 1970s version of Dances With Wolves. Both films break radically with the long Hollywood tradition of portraying Indians as usurping bloodthirsty savages. Both films attempt to view the conflicts of the eras they deal with through Indian eyes -- an effort at some corrective perspective which is long overdue. But neither film breaks with the perrenial Hollywood mold of valiant-white-man-among-the-swarthy-hordes. An obvious model for Kevin Costner in Dances With Wolves is Peter O'Toole in Lawrence Of Arabia. This is pointed out by Cherokee writer Ward Churchill in his recent book Fantasies of the Master Race:

"If Kevin Costner or anyone else in Hollywood held an honest inclination to make a movie which would alter public perceptions of Native America in some meaningful way, it would, first and foremosf, be set in the present day, not in the mid-nineteenth century. It would feature, front and center, the real struggles of living native peoples to liberate themselves from the oppression which has beset them in the contemporary era, not the adventures of some fictional non-Indian out to save the savage. It would engage directly with concrete issues like expropriation of water rights and minerals, involuntary sterilization, and FBI repression of Indian activists."

Churchill is also co-author of Agents of Repression, an in-depth look at the FBI campaigns against both AIM and the Black Panthers in the late 1960s and 70s. Now that Hollywood has released a film dealing with this comparatively recent struggle, however, Churchill nonetheless remains critical:

"On second thought, maybe it wouldn't be such a good idea. Hollywood's record on Indian topics is such that, if it were to attempt to produce a script on, say, the events at Pine Ridge during the mid-70s, it would probably end up being some twisted plot featuring an Indian FBI agent (undoubtedly a cross between Mike Hammer and Tonto) who jumps in to save his backwards reservation brethren from the evil plots of corrupt tribal officials working with sinister corporate executives, and maybe even a few of his own bureau superiors. They'd probably cast a nice blond guy like Val Kilmer as the agent-hero and call it something Indian-sounding, like Thunderheart. It stands to reason, after all: now that we're burdened with the legacy of Lawrence of South Dakota, we can look forward to what will amount to South Dakota Burning.

Indeed, Thunderheart and Mississippi Burning share the common flaws of glorifying white FBI heros, which is something of an insult to the real heros of the civil rights and American Indian struggles -- who were never G-men and more often than not weren't even white! Perhaps Hollywood's apparent need for exclusively white heros, even if it means rewriting history, comes down to mere demographics. As long as whites remain the majority in the U.S. (which may only be for another 20 years if current demographic trends continue), white audiences will demand white heros to relate to -- or else they will stay at home, and ambitious producers will face ambitious bill collectors. So maybe Churchill is being unduly harsh in his dismissal of Thunderheart. The progressive elements in Hollywood have come a very long way from the days of John Wayne and spaghetti westerns -- and it is to Apted's credit that he has chosen to publicize the Peltier case with Incident At Oglala in the spotlight of Thunderheart. But far more Americans will see the fiction than the documentary. And while progressive Hollywood may be straining at the limits necessarily imposed by a capitalist film industry which has to survive in a capitalist economy, Thunderheart's flaws are evidence that those limits are still very real.

In the meantime, Oliver Stone himself is said to be at work on a movie version of In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse, Peter Matthiessen's book on Leonard Peltier. Once again, the chroniclers are drawn into the very story they are telling. Matthiessen's book had hardly been in print before it was pulled from the bookstores by its own publisher, Viking, in response to a libel suit by then-South Dakota Governor Bill Janklow. Janklow dragged Matthiessen into court for daring to air allegations in his book that the governor had raped a young Indian woman several years earlier. Matthiessen recently won his case, and now, nearly ten years later, the book has been reissued. It remains to be seen whether Stone's In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse will go beyond Apted's Thunderheart and strain still further against Hollywood's inherent limits.

Jerry Lower

Leonard Peltier

'It's an eye for an eye. The FBI was going to make somebody pay. And because they blew that first trial, Leonard was the fall guy.'

— Actor Robert Redford on Leonard Peltier

AIM political prisoner Leonard Peltier can be reached at this address: LEONARD PELTIER, #89673-132, P.O.BOX 1000, LEAVENWORTH, KS 66048.

FACE REALITY--THERE ARE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES!!

PEROT'S NIXON CONNECTION

(Continued From Page 13)

by Ollie North and Gen. Richard Secord to ransom the U.S. hostages in Beirut" -- around the same time North was illegally shipping arms to Iran in order to secure funds to illegally ship arms to the CIA-backed Contra forces in Nicaragua, in what became known as the "Contragate Scandal."

PEROT'S BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT CONNECTION

Despite his "anti-Establishment" pose, Perot also has been one of the British Establishment's favorite U.S. leaders. As recently as February 1986, Prince Charles of the British Royal Family flew to Dallas to present the British Establishment's Winston Churchill Foundation leadership award to Perot.

PEROT'S POLITICS

Although Perot has been somewhat vague about what kind of "anti-Establishment" politics he will attempt to implement if he defeats Bush and Clinton in the November 1992 Presidential Election, his past use of executive power and his past policy pronouncements may give us some clue about what life under Billionnaire Perot's "anti-Establishment" dictatorship might be like.

According to **Current Biography 1971**, Perot believes in "old-fashioned reverence for home, country and religion." Perot also believes in using his decision-making power to impose his socially conservative morality and dress codes on his employees. As **Current Biography 1971** noted:

> "An unabashed moralist of the old school, H. Ross Perot makes clear to all new E.D.S. employees that marital infidelity will mean summary dismissal," and "he does require male employees to dress as he does, in conservative dark suits and white shirts, and even messenger boys must wear a tie."

In its 1971 exposé of Perot, **Ramparts Magazine** also noted that Perot "operates as an absolute dictator and petty martinet, enforcing company dress and behavior regulations so rigidly in the San Francisco Bay Area, E.D.S. executives are frequently called the 'Southern fascists.'"

In the 1960's and 1970's, Perot was also opposed to free health care for everyone because "as long as there are doctors to submit bills and tax money to pay them, E.D.S. and Ross Perot will be part of that system as well as one of its chief beneficiaries," according to **Ramparts Magazine**. Ironically, although Perot was one of the leading U.S. anti-poverty pimps of the 1960s, in terms of diverting the money allocated to pay for health care for the needy into his own company's bank account, **Ramparts Magazine** also reported that Perot had said that "the trouble with the Johnson poverty program was that too little money actually reached the poor people themselves."

Perot also isn't too concerned about protecting civil liberties if it interferes with his desire to have government authorities punish more severely people who use drugs or break the U.S. Establishment's laws. As **Newsweek** magazine noted in its April 27, 1992 issue:

> "Former governor William Clements named Perot to head the Texas War on Drugs Committee in 1979. Perot stirred up controversy with civil libertarians by pushing a bill through the legislature to vastly expand police wiretap powers. He also intervened in a 1988 dispute over the use of lethal force by the Dallas Police Department, infuriating black and Hispanic community leaders by siding with the cops ... More recently, Perot made news by reportedly suggesting that authorities should cordon off minority neighborhoods and conduct house-to-house searches to confiscate drugs and weapons."

Perot also supports forcing able-bodied welfare recipients to accept minimum-wage menial jobs, although Perot can live without working 9-to-5 himself. At this moment, Perot's own U.S. taxpayer-provided personal wealth exceeds $2.5 billion.

PEROT'S DALLAS CONNECTION

On November 22, 1963, Nixon just happened to be in Dallas until 9 AM. Since Perot's E.D.S. operation had its headquarters in Dallas on November 22, 1963, there's also a good possibility that Perot might have also just happened to be in Dallas when JFK was ambushed there.

PEROT'S 1992 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Although former Nixon speechwriter Pat Buchanan doesn't appear likely to win the U.S. presidency in 1992, former Nixon Foundation Director Perot still looks like he has a good chance of capturing the U.S. presidency in November -- especially since, unlike Buchanan, he's able (and may be willing) to spend $100 million of his $2.5 billion fortune on his 1992 presidential bid to become an "independent" U.S. Dictator. Predictably, the Issues Coordinator for Perot's 1992 Presidential campaign is John White, a former trustee and Senior Vice President of the Rand Corporation -- which is a military weapons research institute.

The SHADOW hasn't learned whether Perot plans to appoint Nixon to be his Secretary of State if he wins the 1992 Presidential Election in November. But if you think it can't happen here, you might consider thumbing through Sinclair Lewis' book of the 1930's, **It Can't Happen Here.**

the SHADOW
INFORMATION IS STRENGTH · KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

SHADOW STAFF:

EDITOR: Chris Flash **REPORTERS:**Bob Feldman, Paul DeRienzo, A.Kronstadt, Suzie Miles, Bill Weinberg, Bob McGlynn, Chris Flash, Stuart Frankel, Lisa Novacek, Nashua, A.Bertoli, P.Nip, R.Joseph Sinclair, Millie Melee, Lamont Cranston, C.W, Roy G.Biv, among others **PHOTOS:**Jack Dawkins, Chris Flash, Lannes Kenfield, Peter LeVasseur, Andrew Lichtenstein, Q.Sakamaki **ART:**Cosmo, L.Van Abbema, Scott Cunningham, Mike Schafer, Tuli Kupferberg, Andrew Wendel **PROOFREADING:**Stuart Frankel **ATTORNEYS AT LARGE:**Stanley Cohen, Ron Kuby + William Kunstler

MAYDAY RIOT

(Continued From Page 3)

enough to destroy the hated fence! Captain Richard Seta, commander of the Ninth Precinct at the time of the park closing last June, was seen on Second Avenue biting his nails, no longer his usual laughing, gloating self as the massive demonstration swarmed past him and rushed down St. Marks Place toward the park. The rush was met by three layers of blue barricades which were hastily set up on the Avenue A end of St. Marks Place, backed up by a hundred cops in riot gear. The people in the front of the crowd did not act fast enough to penetrate the police lines. The cops were pelted with bottles, but it was a case of too little too late. The demo backed out of St. Marks Place and tried a second rush up Ninth Street. Cops were pelted with debris and dozens of arrests made but TSP was not liberated.

After the big demo left, Captain Hanley and his ninth precinct pigs took out their frustration on a small group of activists who were attempting to hold a speakout and drum circle earlier on Avenue A, charging the drum circle and busting eleven people. One of those arrested, Kurt, was charged with felony riot and incitement for standing on the fence at Tompkins Square Park and holding a banner.

The demonstration went on, and windows continued to be broken along 8th Street on the way to 6th Avenue in the West Village as helpless riot cops stood by watching. Demonstrators captured a large AmeriKKKan flag somewhere on Sixth Avenue and burned it. A large Puerto Rican flag was then carried by marchers. Along Sixth Avenue, cops were pelted with bottles, windows smashed and cars jumped on. The only incidence of looting that this writer noted came around this point when somebody reached through a broken window and grabbed a couple of six packs of imported beer. In two separate incidents, cops pointed their guns at the crowd, but retreated when the crowd called their bluffs and nailed them with bottles and garbage. Some people got clubbed when they didn't run fast enough, but the cops couldn't get anyone else. They finally got ahead of the crowd with the help of police vans, and cut them off at Sixth Avenue and Houston Street, getting reinforcements from transit cops. Dozens of people got through the line, and they ran around the cops to rejoin the crowd on Sixth Avenue, where they headed east on Bleecker Street, smashing more windows along the way, and overturning two cars. By Broadway and Astor Place, the crowd had thinned out, with photographers and news media almost outnumbering the rioters. Dozens of cop vehicles raced up Broadway, people ran east on 10th Street, they got cut off by cop cars and vans, and then they ran up Fourth Avenue toward Union Square where the cops closed in. One cop told the marchers, "It's party time--come on boys, it's pigs!!" By 9 PM, the most active had been arrested, including bystanders arrested at random by Captain Frey and others.

Back at Tompkins Square, peaceful demonstrators banging drums and rattles were beaten back by cops without warning. A woman who gave the crowd the middle finger was beaten and arrested by the cops, as was a woman taking photos who didn't move out of their way fast enough.

While it is hard to justify the randomness of the trashing in this action, it is clear that no one would have paid much attention to the issue of Rodney King's beating and pig justice in general had the response to this outrage been peaceful. It was only the sheer violence of the reaction to the acquittal of the L.A. cops that has focused national attention on the brutalization of Black and Latino people by the police. Two wrongs may not make a right, but it may take a second wrong to get the first wrong noticed. The damage done in NYC on the night of May 1st, fortunately, was minimal. No buildings were burned, no housing stock lost, and the looting was very limited. Most of the losses were probably incurred by the insurance crooks.

The L.A. riots have finally put the issue of the police state on the map, laying waste to the complacency of the 1980s. A riot is not a revolution, but every revolution begins with its first riot. New York did its part on May 1, 1992.

BEVA ART SHOW

(Continued From Page 4)

and gourmet shops before most of the artists themselves were also forced out by the high cost of living here, BEVA has hit upon the same idea of using artists to help promote the new "East Village." (By the way, "East Village" was a term coined in the 1960s by the real estate industry to promote real estate values on the Lower East Side!!)

In spite of the difficulty that neighborhood groups have experienced in obtaining permits for peaceful and artistic events, due to resistance from the 9th precinct, Parks Department and Community Board, BEVA had no problem getting their permit for the art show, thanks to "an important friend who could pull strings," according to one BEVA member.

Despite BEVA's objectives, a majority of the sincere artists participating were not fooled by the purpose of the art show. Almost immediately after the plastic "canvas" donated by TDI/Winston, an agency that controls advertising on billboards, buses and subways, was hung, it was decorated with political graffiti: "FREE THE PARK" "NO CURFEW" "NO POLICE STATE" "FREE KENNY TOLIA." BEVA members, some equipped with walkie talkies, circled the park with paint rollers to cover up as much as they could.

Most of the artwork addressed the closing of the park, police brutality, and Amerika gone wrong. Pieces included Parks Dep't. Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum's face super-imposed on a rat poison label, a huge replica of a postage stamp depicting a firestorm, and a cardboard tube inserted through the "canvas" for viewing of the park.

Like other recent neighborhood events disrupted by cops, the art show also experienced police repression. An artist, Manuel Acevedo, was arrested at the corner of 10th and Avenue A after hanging his piece--a gun welded to the bottom of a shovel. At first, confused cops didn't know what to do, but then he was charged with "Criminal Mischief" and taken to the 9th precinct, even though the gun was inoperable. Cop cars continued circling the art show all day long in search of other prey.

Soon after the event began, other artists not registered with BEVA, determined to take the event back for the community, took over empty spaces to do their thing. At the corner of 7th and Avenue, literature tables and banners were set up by neighborhood groups. After cops took down one of the banners, artists offered their space to hang them up. Petitions were signed for Housing Works, a health care facility for AIDS patients, and for the creation of an all-civilian complaint review board against police violence, both of which are opposed by Antonio Pagan and his handlers. Another table gave out information explaining the truth behind BEVA, its organizers and its funding. The BEVA crew finally gave up a few spaces to the political activists (did they run out of paint?) after they failed to stop the taking of empty spaces.

All in all, despite being set up by the wrong people for the wrong reasons, the art show was a success and a good time was had by all.

PIANO/VOCAL MUSIC TEACHER

PRIVATE & GROUP RATES • CHILDREN/ADULTS

CALL:

TRUDY SILVER

477-5993

FARFETCHED RECORDS

Laurence Bond Miller

461-0616

313-[illegible]

LARYNX ZILLION'S NOVELTY SHOP

P.O. BOX 7045 ANN ARBOR MI 48107

"THROWING A MONKEY WRENCH INTO THE GEARS OF SOCIETY"

NAKED AGGRESSION *THE NEWSLETTER*

NAKED AGGRESSION SUCKS • NAKED AGGRESSION SUCKS • NAKED AGGRESSION SUCKS • NAKED AGGRESSION SUCKS

P.O.BOX 226

BENSENVILLE

ILL. 60106

708/628/6762

SEND US ANYTHING

Social Commentary, Music Reviews, Poems,
Nude Photos, In-Depth Articles, Balls of ear wax

FOR SAMPLE ISSUE

Please Send $1.00 or 4 Stamps (Not worth it)

100% Pure Urine

- Guaranteed Drug Free
- Just Add Warm Water
- Directions Included

Produced by Byrd Laboratories,
Purveyors of Fine Urine Products

POWDERED URINE: GUARANTEED TO BEAT PISS TESTS!!
ONLY $25 FOR 2 CAPSULES

LIQUID URINE ADDITIVE: GUARANTEED TO BEAT PISS TESTS FOR THC + POT!!
ONLY $25 FOR 2 CAPSULES

"CONQUERING THE URINE TESTS": 28 PAGE GUIDE TO SUCCESS IN BEATING PISS TESTS!!
ONLY $5.00

ORDER FROM SHADOW PRESS, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

FLY HIGH HIT HARD

CARTOONS AND ARTWORK BY VARIOUS SHADOW ARTISTS

ONLY $2.00 PLUS $1.00 POSTAGE:
SHADOW PRESS
P.O.BOX 20298
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

FREE COPY OF THE LATEST SHADOW INCLUDED WITH YOUR ORDER!

ZEDD IS NOT DEAD

PENETRATION FILMS PRESENTS

NICK ZEDD

POLICE STATE
THEY EAT SCUM
THRUST IN ME
WHOREGASM/I SHIT ON GOD
GEEK MAGGOT BINGO
THE CINEMA OF TRANSGRESSION
THE WILD WORLD OF LYDIA LUNCH

exclusive—**BLEED** by NICK ZEDD

The book *Film Threat* refused to review

COMING SOON: **WAR IS MENSTRUAL ENVY**

$1 gets illustrated catalogue.

PENETRATION FILMS Ltd. ■ P.O. BOX 1589, NEW YORK, NY 10009

SHADOW ADVERTISING RATES:
SUBVERTISEMENTS--20 CENTS PER WORD,
NO MINIMUM OR MAXIMUM.
BUSINESS CARD SIZE--$15.00

LARGER ADS--(YOUR ARTWORK + LAYOUT OR OURS):
1/8 PAGE---$30.00
1/4 PAGE---$50.00
1/2 PAGE--$100.00
LONG TERM ADS ARE NEGOTIABLE--
PLEASE INQUIRE FOR MORE DETAILS

FREE AD SPACE WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR NON-PROFIT GROUPS AS SPACE ALLOWS. DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE FOR CERTAIN PROFIT-MAKING GROUPS.

COPY AND SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
FIRST CLASS--$2.00/COPY, $15/YEAR
BULK RATE--$1.00/COPY, $10/YEAR
*PLEASE SPECIFY METHOD OF DELIVERY WHEN ORDERING COPIES OR SUBSCRIPTIONS.
(FIRST CLASS IS MUCH FASTER)
THE SHADOW IS 50 CENTS LOCALLY, $1.00 OUT OF TOWN, AND $2.00 FOR PIGS.

A COMPLETE LIST OF BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE CAN BE HAD FOR A SELF-ADDRESSED STAMPED ENVELOPE OR A STAMP OR TWO. THE SHADOW IS AVAILABLE IN BULK FOR WHOLESALERS WHO WANT TO SELL IT. PLEASE INQUIRE FOR PRICES AND DETAILS.

THE SHADOW IS FREE FOR ALL PRISONERS, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE MILITARY. WE REQUEST THAT ALL FREE SUBSCRIBERS CONTACT US EVERY FEW MONTHS SO THAT WE KNOW THEY ARE GETTING THEIR SHADOWS. (IF WE DO NOT HEAR FROM YOU WITHIN TWO MONTHS, YOUR NAME MAY BE REMOVED FROM OUR MAILING LIST)

EVERYTHING IN THE SHADOW MAY BE FREELY COPIED AND USED FOR ANY INFORMATIVE PURPOSE. WE REQUEST CREDIT FOR ANYTHING REPRINTED FROM THE SHADOW. WE WILL GLADLY TRADE ISSUES AND SUBS WITH OTHER POLITICAL/SUBVERSIVE PUBLICATIONS. PLEASE TURN US ON!!

WE PREFER CASH, BUT WE CAN ACCEPT CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS MADE PAYABLE TO: "SHADOW PRESS". ANY AND ALL DONATIONS ARE NEEDED AND WILL BE MUCH APPRECIATED!!

PLEASE SEND ADS, INQUIRIES, AND ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO: SHADOW PRESS, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009, OR CALL (212) 971-9611.

The HIV Prevention and Support Services Program of the NENA Health Center offers you:

- **Confidential HIV testing and counseling**
- **Counseling for people with HIV, families and loved ones**
- **Information, condoms, and referrals**

We speak Spanish and English.
Call or visit us.

NENA HEALTH CENTER

279 E. Third St., second floor
(212) 477-8509

HEAL

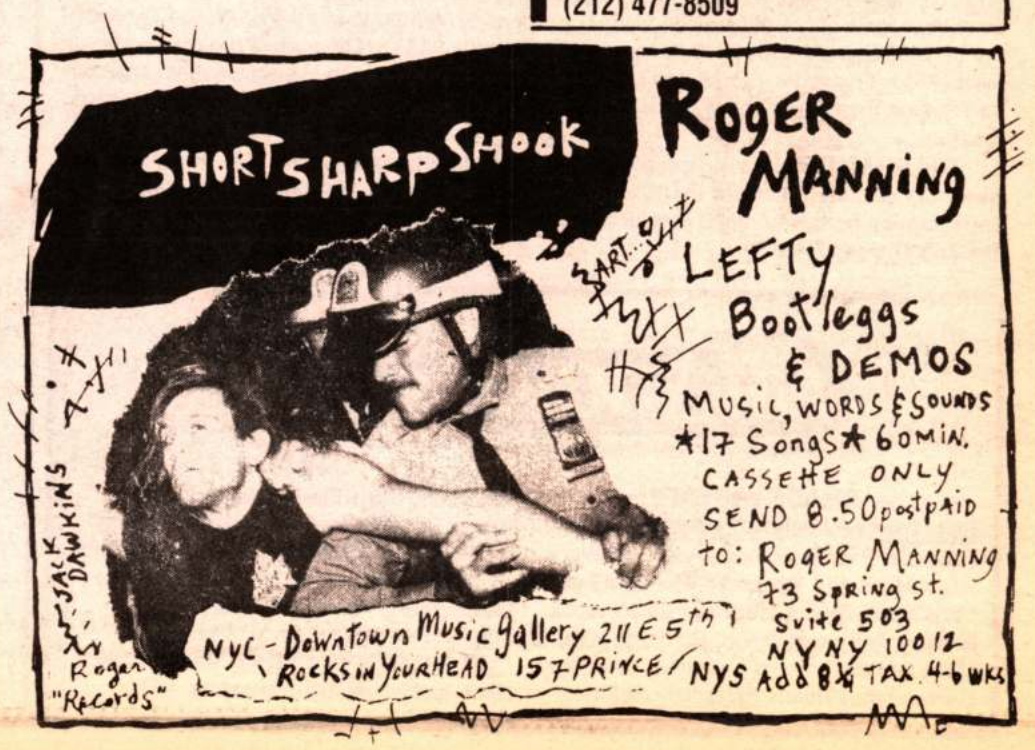
HEALTH • EDUCATION • AIDS LIAISON
P.O. Box 1103, Old Chelsea Station
New York, N.Y. 10113
(212) 674-HOPE

Become An Ordained Minister
All Religions Welcome

Exercise your first amendment right. Practice religion / worship as you believe. You and your place of worship are recognized by gov't. agencies. Send a SASE to Minister, PO Box 20233, NY, NY 10009.

ROAD STAR

Only $3.00 each, 10 for $27.50.

Have a portable roadblock at your command! Stop those unwanted pests who drive on your property — vehicular trespassers will "get your point" quick. Made of strong, thick steel, these four pointed stars have sharpened points that no matter how they are thrown on the ground, one sharpened point will always land straight up. Any vehicle driving over one of these will have an immediate blow-out. A vehicle driving over a group of these will be totally incapacitated when all four tires are blown.

Order from SHADOW PRESS, P.O.Box, 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009